An Australian Composer Abroad:

Malcolm Williamson and the projection of an Australian Identity

by

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Declaration of Originality

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Abstract

Malcolm Williamson (1931-2003) was one of the most successful Australian composers of the latter half of the twentieth century and the depth, breadth and diversity of his achievements are largely related to his decision to leave Australia for Britain in the early 1950s. By the 1960s, he was commonly referred to as the "most commissioned composer in Britain" and in 1975 he was appointed to the esteemed post of Master of the Queen's Music. While his service to music in Britain is generally acknowledged in the literature, the extent of his contribution to Australian music is not widely recognised and this is the first research to be undertaken with a strong focus on the identification and examination of the many works he composed for his homeland and his projection of an Australian identity through his music and persona. This study draws on previously-unexplored primary source material, including correspondence and manuscript scores, to support the assertion that Williamson projected an Australian identity and to provide insight into the construction and manifestations of that persona and the effect that these elements had on the reception of his works. Major works examined in this study include *Symphony for Voices* (1960-62), *The Display* (1964), the Sixth (1982) and Seventh (1984) symphonies, *The True Endeavour* (1988) and *The Dawn is at Hand* (1989). To place the discussion of Williamson's expressions of national identity in context, the composer's expatriate experience and views of his homeland are examined and compared to the journeys and opinions of numerous other high-profile Australian expatriate creative artists. Significantly, many parallels are discovered that can be interpreted as characteristics of the reverse-migration experience and are indicative of the prevailing cultural attitudes towards Australian expatriates during the twentieth century; confirming that Williamson's situation was not particularly unique. This research has permitted a reassessment of Williamson's creative life and work and as a result, his contribution to Australian music can now be contextualised and more comprehensively understood and acknowledged.

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To

David,

Lucas and Marcus

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Chapter One

Introduction, Overview of Malcolm Williamson's Life and Music and Review of the Literature

Malcolm Williamson (1931-2003) was one of the most successful Australian composers of his generation and although he spent fifty of his seventy-one years living and working in Britain, he continued to consider himself and his music to be Australian. He was part of the great wave of creative artists that left Australia for London after World War II, yet few expatriates achieved his level of success; he was considered the "most commissioned composer in Britain" during the 1960s and was appointed Master of the Queen's Music in 1975. While his service to music in Britain is generally acknowledged by scholars, the same cannot be said of his contribution to Australian music. Although Williamson identified his music as "characteristically Australian"[1] and composed more than two dozen works specifically for Australia – many of which are based on identifiably Australian topoi – the recognition afforded to him in his homeland has yet to reflect the true extent of his creative achievements abroad. This chapter will introduce the thesis underpinning this research and include a brief biography of the composer and overview of his oeuvre in order to provide a context for the discussion of his expatriate experience and his projection of an Australian identity in later chapters.[2] It will conclude with a review of the literature, which will provide insight into the current state of knowledge about Williamson, his Australian music, and the expatriate experience in general.

[1] Malcolm Williamson, "A Composer's Heritage," *Composer* (Spring 1966): 71.
[2] For more information on Williamson's life and music, see Carolyn Philpott, "The Master and the Media: Malcolm Williamson in the Press," in *Musical Islands: Exploring Connections between Music, Place and Research*, ed. Elizabeth Mackinlay, Brydie-Leigh Bartleet and Katelyn Barney (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 157-88. This article is provided in Appendix C, "Relevant Publications by the Author of this Dissertation."

The thesis underpinning this research is that Williamson projected an Australian identity through his music and public persona and that the investigation of the composer's expatriate experience and examination of how and why he expressed this national identity will make a significant contribution to the understanding of the composer's life and work, revealing the true extent of the impact he made on the arts in his homeland. This study is the first to be undertaken with a strong focus on the identification and examination of the many works Williamson composed for Australia. It draws on previously-unexplored primary source material, including correspondence and manuscript scores, to support the assertion that Williamson projected an Australian identity and to provide insight into the construction and manifestations of that persona and the effect that these elements had on the reception of his works. Through analyses and discussions of Williamson's "Australian" compositions, the musical techniques he employed to create a nexus to Australia in his music will be revealed. Works to be examined include the "Sydney" book of *Travel Diaries* (1960-61); *Symphony for Voices* (1960-62) to texts by James McAuley; *The Display* (1964); *The Glitter Gang* (1973-74); the Sixth (1982) and Seventh (1984) symphonies; and the bicentennial works *The True Endeavour* (1988), with texts by Manning Clark, and *The Dawn is at Hand* (1989), based on poetry by Kath Walker.

To place the discussion of Williamson's expressions of national identity in context, the composer's expatriate experience and views of his homeland will be examined and compared to the journeys and opinions of more than twenty other high-profile Australian expatriate creative artists. Importantly, this research will reveal many parallels that are indicative of the prevailing cultural attitudes towards expatriates in the twentieth century and which can be interpreted as characteristics of the reverse-migration experience. Additionally, it will highlight the reasons why this composer's significant contribution to Australian music has been largely overlooked until this time, despite his many return visits,

a large corpus of works composed especially for Australia and the many public affirmations he made of his "life-long Australian identity."[3] Ultimately, this research will permit a reassessment of Williamson's creative life and work and allow his contribution to Australian music to be more comprehensively understood and contextualised.

Past research on Williamson and his Australian music has been consistently hampered by the lack of available primary source material, such as selected musical scores and the composer's personal correspondence, which were only made available to the public after the composer's death in 2003. This is the first dissertation to be produced on Williamson since his death and therefore, it is also the first to take advantage of the increased access to these previously unexplored sources. Additionally, this dissertation has benefited from the input of some of the people who are considered to be the main surviving links to Williamson and who have helped to inform, clarify and consolidate the information provided in this dissertation. These people include the composer's partner and publisher Simon Campion,[4] his sisters Marion Foote and Diane Williamson, his daughter Tammy Jones, his professional colleague Kevin Power and one of his students, Don Kay. The information provided by these figures has helped to enable, for the first time, a comprehensive examination and discussion of Williamson's projection of an Australian identity in his music and persona.[5]

This chapter focuses on the present state of knowledge about Malcolm Williamson. In Chapter 2, the experiences of more than twenty prominent Australian expatriate creative

[3] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, *Malcolm Williamson: A Mischievous Muse* (London: Omnibus Press, 2007), 458.
[4] Simon Campion's contribution to this dissertation has been both substantial and invaluable. He has provided the author with access to many scores that are unavailable elsewhere and has generously offered his insight into the composer's working life and creative processes.
[5] Many of Williamson's closest professional associates are now deceased, including Sir Bernard Heinze, Sir Benjamin Britten and Sir Adrian Boult, as are some of his personal contacts and family members, including his mother, father and ex-wife, Dolly Williamson. Dolly kindly met with the author of this dissertation in person in London in June 2006, only a few months prior to her death, to discuss her thoughts and memories of Williamson and his music.

artists are examined in order to provide a context for the discussion of Williamson's own expatriate experience in Chapter 3. Unveiling the extent to which Williamson's experience was influenced by the prevailing *zeitgeist* and cultural attitudes towards expatriates is critical to understanding the reasons why Williamson projected an Australian identity and also to establishing the extent and diversity of his creative achievements and contribution to musical life in Australia.

Chapters 4 to 7 examine Williamson's Australian works chronologically, in order to prove that the composer projected an Australian identity in his music for the majority of his career and also to illuminate the compositional devices he employed at various times to create connections between his music and his homeland. Chapter 4 explores the first works that Williamson composed for Australia, including the *Sydney* book of *Travel Diaries* (1960-61) for solo piano, and three works for voice with texts by the Australian poet, James McAuley, *Symphony for Voices* (1960-62), *Celebration of Divine Love* (1963) and *An Australian Carol* (*Nativity*) (1963). Although the first three of these works have been examined in previous studies, this chapter provides the first detailed analyses of the "Australian" elements inherent in these compositions. Chapter 5 examines the composer's contribution to the all-Australian ballet *The Display* (1964), which was based on uniquely Australian topoi and fused the creative talents of three high-profile Australian expatriates: Robert Helpmann, who devised the scenario and choreography; Sidney Nolan, who designed the décor; and Malcolm Williamson, who composed the score. While this work has received a significant amount of attention from scholars previously, the present study extends the scope of enquiry to address how the ballet was representative of the expatriate experiences of its creators. This discussion focuses specifically on how Williamson's score for *The Display* contributed to the overall "Australianness" and dramatic effectiveness of the work.

Chapter 6 provides a detailed overview of the works Williamson composed for Australia in the 1970s and early 1980s, including analysis of the Australian connections evident in his cassation *The Glitter Gang* (1973-74), and the orchestral works *In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze* (1982), Symphony No. 6 (1982) and Symphony No. 7 (1984); compositions that have not been examined in any previous theses. The discussion of Williamson's projection of an Australian identity in his music is continued in Chapter 7, which focuses on the major works that he composed for the Australian Bicentenary of 1998, *The True Endeavour* (1988) and *The Dawn is at Hand* (1989), both of which draw on themes pertaining to indigenous Australia and illuminate the composer's deep interest in, and dedication to, the political and humanitarian issues affecting Australians of all ethnic and social backgrounds. Although these works are two of Williamson's most moving tributes to his native Australia, *The True Endeavour* and *The Dawn is at Hand* have not been explored in detail in any previous scholarly work. To contextualise these discussions, it is necessary to begin with a brief biography of Williamson and overview of his compositional output and stylistic influences.

Malcolm Benjamin Graham Christopher Williamson was born in Sydney in 1931 and raised in the suburbs of Mosman, St Marys and Concord, respectively, where his father was an Anglican clergyman. By the time he was of school age, he was playing the piano and the organ and attempting to compose simple pieces for the keyboard.[6] At age twelve, he earned a scholarship to train with the Russian émigré pianist Alexander Sverjensky (1901-1971), and by age fifteen he was studying piano, French horn and violin full-time at the New South Wales State Conservatorium with the support of a full scholarship. Williamson's instrumental tuition at the Conservatorium informed the composition of

[6] Williamson's earliest surviving composition is a brief piece for piano entitled "Great Lady Waltz," which he wrote at age ten as a birthday gift for his grandmother. The "Great Lady Waltz" is held in the collection of Williamson's papers at the National Library of Australia. Malcolm Williamson, Papers of Malcolm Williamson, 1950-2004, National Library of Australia, MS Acc04/159.

several promising works that were successful in gaining the attention of the then-Director of the Conservatorium, Eugene Goossens (1893-1962), and it was not long before Williamson was studying composition on an individual basis with this world-renowned composer and conductor.[7] While Williamson later conceded that the training he received in Australia was of a standard equal to the finest offered in the world,[8] his studies under Goossens and Sverjensky inspired him to look for further instruction and career opportunities abroad. At the end of 1949, he abruptly left the Conservatorium and made plans to travel to Europe.

Williamson travelled to London for the first time in 1950, in the company of his mother, and settled there permanently in 1953.[9] Soon after his arrival he commenced composition lessons with Elisabeth Lutyens (1906-1983), a pioneer of serial composition in England, and Erwin Stein (1885-1958), a former pupil of Schoenberg and an associate and friend of Benjamin Britten. Not surprisingly, Williamson's works from this period show a strong adherence to serial methods;[10] however, there were a number of other formative influences that encouraged him to modify his approach to serialism in the search for a more inclusive idiom.

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[7] The instrumental works that Williamson composed during his early years at the Conservatorium include *Minuet for Violin and Piano* (1947), *Study for Unaccompanied Horn* (1947) for fellow Conservatorium student, Barry Tuckwell, *Two-Part Invention for Piano* (1947) and String Quartet No. 1 "Winterset" (1947-48). Under Goossens' supervision, Williamson composed his first works for orchestra: *Theme and Variations for Orchestra* (1947-49), *Scherzo for Orchestra* (1947-49) and *Lento for Orchestra* (1947-49). Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue" (Hertfordshire: Campion Press, 2008). Unless otherwise stated, all dates given in parentheses following the titles of works refer to dates of composition in this dissertation. See Appendix B, "Complete List of Musical Works by Malcolm Williamson," for publication details and additional information about the musical works by Williamson referred to in this dissertation.

[8] Belinda Webster, "A Word With Malcolm Williamson," *ABC Radio 24 Hours Magazine*, November 1991, 34.

[9] During 1951-52, Williamson spent a year each in Melbourne and Sydney respectively. In Melbourne, he established what was to be a life-long friendship and professional association with Sir Bernard Heinze.

[10] These include *Variations for Piano* (1953), *Piece for Seven Wind Instruments and Piano* (1953), String Quartet No. 2 (1954), *Two Motets*, "Tantum ergo" and "Pange lingua" (1954) and Piano Sonata No. 1 (1955-56). Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue."

His conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1953 led to an intensive study of the music of the Middle Ages and pre-Reformation, in particular, the music of English composer John Dunstable (1390-1453).[11] Williamson drew a parallel between the "clearly organised" structures of fifteenth-century music and the theoretical practices of Schoenberg, but admitted that he preferred the "saner harmonic world" of the former.[12] He also undertook an intensive study of the religious music and theories of fellow Catholic composer Olivier Messiaen, discovering in the French composer's music a language that articulated the religious beliefs he had embraced upon his own conversion.[13] Other stylistic influences came from employment that Williamson found financially necessary during the mid to late 1950s. He worked as a piano teacher, a vocal coach, a nightclub pianist and as assistant organist at the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Farm Street (1955-58), and at St Peter's, Limehouse (1958-60), and each of these musical experiences left their mark on his mature compositional voice.[14] These positions taught Williamson the importance of developing an inclusive musical language that could communicate instantly with the musically uneducated and encouraged him to modify his approach to serialism, which he came to view as an exclusive idiom, and to write in a language that was fundamentally tonal, and above all, lyrical.[15] While many of Williamson's early works achieved

[11] Malcolm Williamson, "Conversation with Malcolm Williamson," interview by Hazel de Berg, transcript of sound recording, 8 October 1967, National Library of Australia ORAL DeB 290, 291, 292. Williamson viewed his conversion to Catholicism as a logical step from his upbringing in the Anglican Church and was particularly attracted to the rituals and music of the Catholic Mass. Marion Foote to Carolyn Philpott, personal conversation, 5 July 2005.
[12] Malcolm Williamson, "Conversation with Malcolm Williamson."
[13] Lewis Foreman, liner notes for *Malcolm Williamson Orchestral Works, Volume 1*, Chandos CHAN 10359, 2006. Williamson was deeply disappointed when his application for a twelve-month scholarship to study with Messiaen in Paris was unsuccessful; however, he later enjoyed intermittent lessons with the French composer. He was particularly attracted to Messiaen's organ music and it inspired him to begin composing his own religious-themed works for the instrument, such as *Fons Amoris* (1955-56). Kenneth Dommett, "Malcolm Williamson Talks to Kenneth Dommett," *Birmingham Post*, 23 March 1968.
[14] Williamson also worked as a proof reader at Boosey & Hawkes, where he met several influential figures, including Erwin Stein and Benjamin Britten. Malcolm Williamson, "Conversation with Malcolm Williamson."
[15] Malcolm Williamson, "Conversation with Malcolm Williamson."

widespread popularity and success,[16] his penchant for composing in opposing stylistic idioms from work to work and often within the same piece frequently evoked strong criticism from the press. The criticism of Williamson's works and his public persona will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, which focuses on the composer's experience as an expatriate and his representation in the British and Australian press.

In addition to writing music in a variety of styles, Williamson composed music in a wide range of genres. During his first decade in Britain, he had focused primarily on composing music for the instruments he could play himself, producing a large number of works for solo piano and solo organ.[17] His ability to premiere his own keyboard works had been an important promotional tool in the establishment of his reputation as both composer and performer during the 1950s and early 1960s and was successful in gaining the attention of individuals within London's musical society, such as Benjamin Britten and Adrian Boult.[18] By the mid-1960s Williamson had extended his compositional range to encompass operatic, orchestral, chamber, solo vocal, choral, religious and educational music, as well as scores for ballet, musical theatre, film, television and radio and was commonly cited as the most commissioned composer in Britain. Over his lifetime, Williamson produced more than 250 works, including thirteen operas, thirteen film scores, eight ballet scores, eight

[16] Williamson's first works to receive critical acclaim include *Fons Amoris*, Piano Sonata No. 1, Piano Sonata No. 2 (formerly *Janua Coeli,* 1957, rev. 1970-71), Symphony No. 1 (*Elevamini*, 1956-57) and *Santiago de Espada* (1957).

[17] These works include *Epithalamium* for organ (1955), Piano Sonata No. 2, Piano Sonata No. 3 (1958), Piano Concerto No. 1 (1957-58), *Résurgence du Feu* ("Pâques 1959") for organ (1959), Variations on *Veni Creator* for organ (1959), Symphony for Organ (1960), Piano Concerto No. 2 (1960), *Travel Diaries: Impressions of Famous Cities for Pianoforte* (1960-61), Concerto for Organ and Orchestra (1961), *Vision of Christ Phoenix* for organ (1961), Piano Concerto No. 3 (1962) and Piano Sonata No. 4 (1963). Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue."

[18] Williamson travelled widely as a performer, appearing as solo pianist and organist with a number of world-renowned orchestras, including the Hallé, the London Philharmonic, the BBC Symphony, the Vienna Symphony, the New Philharmonia, the Metropolitan Opera Chamber Players and the Melbourne and Sydney Symphony Orchestras and participated in broadcasts at Canterbury Cathedral, the Royal Festival Hall and the Royal Albert Hall, among other venues. Paul Conway, "Malcolm Williamson – A 70th Birthday Tribute," April 2001, available from http://www.musicweb-international.com/Williamson/index.htm; Internet; accessed 27 August 2008.

symphonies, four piano concertos,[19] four piano sonatas and a sonata for two pianos, three string quartets, a large number of vocal and choral works, music for brass ensemble and military band, religious music, including several mass settings and works for organ, educational music, including several books of didactic piano pieces, scores for television and radio and numerous works for Royal occasions.[20]

The creative impetus for many of these works derived from Williamson's interests in literature, religion, politics and humanitarian issues and from his personal experience as an Australian expatriate, which will be addressed in detail in Chapter 3. Williamson spoke several languages fluently and set texts by literary figures as diverse as Graham Greene, Oscar Wilde, August Strindberg, William Shakespeare, Jorge Luis Borges, Pär Lagerqvist, Dag Hammarskjöld, John Betjeman, Dame Edith Sitwell, Ursula Vaughan Williams, Mary Wilson and Dame Iris Murdoch, as well as texts by the Australian writers Manning Clark, James McAuley and the indigenous poet Oodgeroo Noonuccal (Kath Walker). Williamson also set numerous biblical texts and, following his marriage to the Jewish Dolores Daniel in 1960, he composed a number of works inspired by Jewish themes, including a concerto for harp and string orchestra entitled *Au tombeau du martyr juif inconnu* ("At the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr," 1973-76) and a song cycle for soprano and orchestra, *Next Year in Jerusalem* (1985). While he remained a practicing Catholic throughout the remainder of his life, Williamson committed himself to raising his and Dolores' three children according to Jewish practices. Following his divorce in 1978, he formed a committed relationship with fellow Australian and musician Simon Campion,[21] which

[19] He also composed numerous concertos for other instrumental combinations including Concerto for Organ and Orchestra (1961), Concerto for Violin and Orchestra (1964-65), Concerto Grosso (1965), Concerto for Two Pianos and String Orchestra (1972), Concerto for Harp and String Orchestra (*Au tombeau du martyr juif inconnu*, 1973-76) and Concerto for Wind Quintet and Two Pianos (Eight Hands) (1964-65). Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue."
[20] Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue."
[21] Simon Campion later became Williamson's publisher, establishing the company Campion Press in the early 1980s.

continued until Williamson's death in March 2003. Williamson's son and two daughters inspired him to compose several works for children, including a series of ten mini-operas for audience participation known as "Cassations."[22] These innovative works were particularly popular in school music programs as a means of introducing children to the mechanics of opera and were later found to be extremely effective when used with physically and intellectually disabled children.

Williamson's creative impact and the diversity of his interests and experiences are also reflected in the awards, posts, fellowships and honours he received during his career. In 1975, he was appointed nineteenth Master of the Queen's Music in succession to Sir Arthur Bliss. Significantly, he was the youngest composer and first Australian to hold this esteemed post in its 350 year history.[23] In addition, he was made a Commander of the British Empire in 1976, an Officer of the Order of Australia in 1987, awarded the Bernard Heinze Award in 1989 and received honorary doctorates from a number of academic institutions, including Westminster Choir College, Princeton (1971), the University of Melbourne (1982) and the University of Sydney (1982) for his services to music and for his work with the intellectually disabled. He was also the recipient of numerous fellowships, including two Creative Arts Fellowships from the Australian National University (1973 and 1981), which involved lecturing in music and Scandinavian literature and trialling his musical therapy techniques with disabled children at the Koomarri School; a medical research fellowship from the University of New South Wales (1981), where he was guest lecturer at the international seminar on mental disabilities; and residencies at

[22] Williamson's cassations include *The Moonrakers* (1967), *Knights in Shining Armour* (1968), *The Snow Wolf* (1968), *Genesis* (1971), *The Stone Wall* (1971), *The Winter Star* (1973), *The Glitter Gang* (1973-74), *La Tèrre des Rois* ("The Terrain of the Kings," 1974), *The Valley and the Hill* (1977) and *The Devil's Bridge* ("Le Pont du Diable," 1982). Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue."

[23] The first Master of the Royal Musick, Nicholas Lanier, was appointed in 1626 during the reign of Charles I.

Westminster Choir College, Princeton (1970-71),[24] Florida State University (1975) and Strathclyde University (1983-86), where he held the position of Visiting Professor.[25]

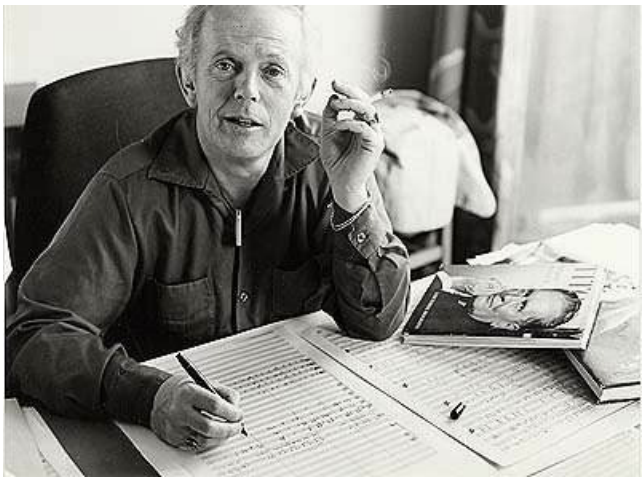

Figure 1.1 Photograph of Malcolm Williamson at age fifty.

Despite European influences and his decision to remain resident in London throughout his career, Williamson projected an Australian persona and maintained what he identified as a "characteristically Australian"[26] style of composition, stating in the 1960s "Most of my music is Australian in origin . . . not the bush or the deserts, but the brashness of the cities, the sort of brashness that makes Australians go through life pushing doors marked 'pull.'"[27] Williamson composed at least two dozen works inspired by his native Australia and for performance in Australia. From here onwards, these works will be referred to collectively as Williamson's "Australian" compositions. As the table given in Appendix A, "Williamson's 'Australian' Compositions," demonstrates, these works were composed

[24] For his residency at Westminster Choir College, Williamson learned the complete organ music of Messiaen (up until that time) for a series of lecture-recitals.
[25] He was also an active member of various musical associations, holding the first ever office of President of the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra from 1977 to 1982, and participating as a member of the Society for the Promotion of New Music, the London branch of the International Society of Contemporary Music and on the Executive Committee of the Composers' Guild of Great Britain.
[26] Malcolm Williamson, "A Composer's Heritage," 71.
[27] Malcolm Williamson quoted in "Success for Australian Composer," *The West Australian*, 11 November 1966.

over the period 1960-1993 and were written in a variety of genres and for a wide range of purposes.

Despite Williamson's lifelong dedication to writing works for Australia and projecting a sense of Australian identity in his oeuvre, many of his works have been significantly overlooked by Australians and the local musical establishment. What is more, the recognition afforded to him in Australia generally has not and still does not fully reflect the depth and breadth of his professional achievements in Britain, especially all that he achieved in the years prior to his appointment as Master of the Queen's Music in 1975. Even in Britain, his contribution has been largely ignored since the late 1970s, as *The Independent*'s Bayan Northcott has noted: "Williamson . . . remains astonishingly neglected for a figure of such creative individuality, substance and skill."[28] The reasons behind Williamson's neglect in Australia, and in Britain in later years, are too numerous to mention in this introduction and instead will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3. The general lack of attention paid to the composer is, however, reflected in the paucity of scholarly sources available that are dedicated entirely to Williamson's life and/or music, as will be revealed in the following review of the literature.

While there are many books, encyclopaedia entries, journal articles and theses that mention Williamson and his music, there are few dedicated exclusively to his life or compositions. Additionally, there are no published sources available to date that are dedicated primarily to the composer's "Australian" works or to his projection of an Australian identity, which was so fundamental to his personality and his sense of self. One of the main purposes of this current research has been to re-evaluate previously used sources and to uncover newly-available primary materials relating to Malcolm Williamson in order to make a significant

[28] Bayan Northcott, "Modern Music and the Tale of Two Ms," *The Independent*, 17 November 2001.

contribution to the understanding of the composer's life and work and to illustrate exactly how and why he projected an Australian identity in his music and public persona. It aims to fill in many of the lacunae identified in previous research and to redress some of the misleading and even erroneous information that has been published on aspects of Williamson's personal and professional life in order to give a thorough and accurate assessment of his contribution to music in Australia and abroad.

The literature currently available on Williamson can be divided into primary and secondary sources.[29] Primary sources include transcripts and recordings of formal interviews and speeches given by Williamson, his personal letters, musical scores, sound recordings with the composer as performer and program notes and articles that he wrote himself. Secondary sources comprise biographies of Williamson, journal articles, theses, critical surveys of his music, newspaper articles, published and unpublished catalogues of his oeuvre, concert reviews and sound recordings of his music by artists other than the composer. Within the secondary sources, most of the literature can again be separated into two categories, with some cross-over of content: biographical works which comment on and record information about Williamson's life and the history of his music; and analytical works, which address in varying detail the compositional processes Williamson employed in one or more musical works. There are more works of a biographical make-up available than of an analytical nature, however, there are few sources that are comprehensive in scope or that focus solely on Williamson; many also address the contribution of other Australian, or indeed British, composers.

[29] Sources consulted in this dissertation include those held by the Australian Music Centre (AMC), the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), the National Library of Australia (NLA), the State Library of Victoria, the University of Sydney Library, the University of Tasmania Library, the National Archives of Australia, the National Film and Sound Archive, the British Library, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), the British Music Information Centre and the publishing houses of Josef Weinberger (London) and Boosey & Hawkes (London). Additional material and further insights about the composer were provided by Williamson's partner and publisher Simon Campion; his ex-wife, Dolly Williamson; his sisters, Marion Foote and Diane Williamson; his daughter, Tammy Jones and one of his previous students, Don Kay. A full list of sources consulted in this dissertation is provided in the bibliography.

To place Williamson's expatriate experience in context, this study compares and contrasts the journeys of a number of other significant Australian creative artists who relocated to Britain for career purposes. The literature available in this subject area is mostly of a historical nature, including biographies and autobiographies of individuals and histories of Australian expatriation to Britain. Closely related to this subject is the history of the evolving relationship between Australia and Britain, which has attracted interest from scholars in recent years. While an in-depth study of the relationship between Australia and Britain is not the central aim of this thesis, the topic will be addressed briefly in Chapter 2 in order to establish an historical context for the discussion of Australian expatriation to Britain, and indeed, to provide a backdrop for the examination of Williamson's own expatriate experience in London in Chapter 3. Consequently, a number of seminal texts on this topic will be referred to in this literature review.

As a starting point, the relevant primary source material available on Williamson will be examined in order to gain an understanding of the composer's own views of Australia and his Australian identity, before secondary sources are evaluated. The primary sources available on Williamson are among the most useful and reliable resources on the composer that are accessible and most of them are held in archives at libraries and publishing houses. The largest public archive of Williamson's personal papers is held at the National Library of Australia in Canberra. The collection Papers of Malcolm Williamson, 1950-2004 includes personal correspondence, journal and magazine articles, newspaper clippings, concert programs, scores, recordings, program notes, photographs, scripts of eulogies from Williamson's funeral and obituaries.[30] Most of these items came from the estate of Williamson's mother, Bessie Williamson, and were collated and donated by the

[30] Malcolm Williamson, Papers of Malcolm Williamson, 1950-2004, National Library of Australia, MS Acc04/159. Williamson's sister, Marion Foote, graciously granted permission for the author to access the material held in this collection.

composer's sisters, Marion Foote and Diane Williamson. While some of the items included in this collection are secondary sources that can also be sourced elsewhere, the composer's personal letters, of which there are over one hundred, are obviously unique to this archive and are particularly revealing. Most of the letters were written by Malcolm Williamson and addressed to Bessie, Marion and Diane in Australia. They cover a broad range of subjects, from family life to new commissions and performances of Williamson's works. Many letters include detailed descriptions of the composer's feelings towards Australia, his desire to return permanently, his clashes with members of Australian organisations such as the ABC and how he felt about the criticism he received from the Australian press.

Although Williamson may have avoided mentioning to his family issues that may have met with contention, such as his homosexuality, the vast majority of the letters appear to have been written straightforwardly and without concern for upholding the strong façade that he projected when interviewed by the media. For example, in several of the letters Williamson has written candidly of his struggles with alcoholism and bouts of depression, as well as the deterioration of his eighteen-year marriage to Dolly; topics he avoided addressing in public interviews. It can be assumed, therefore, that the remarks he made in these letters about his relationship with Australia are also genuine and have been made freely, without reservation. As such, these letters provide glimpses into Williamson's true thoughts about his homeland and overall, they have proved to be invaluable sources for the formation and justification of many of the arguments made in this dissertation.

The National Library of Australia also houses two other important resources for research into Williamson's life and music that deserve a special mention here: a recording and transcript of a ninety-minute interview conducted in 1967 by Hazel de Berg entitled

"Conversation with Malcolm Williamson;"[31] and a folder labelled "Biographical cuttings on Malcolm Williamson,"[32] which contains a large number of newspaper clippings on the composer and his music. In the interview with Hazel de Berg, Williamson speaks articulately about his upbringing and musical training in Australia; the guidance he received from Sir Bernard Heinze; his life in Great Britain during the 1950s; early influences on his compositional language; his first published piano sonata (1955-56); his marriage and children; the opera *Our Man in Havana* (1963) and the chamber operas *English Eccentrics* (1963-64), *The Happy Prince* (1964-65) and *Dunstan and the Devil* (1967); writing music for ballet, including *The Display* (1964); his religious music; writing music for children; his thoughts about Australia, the Australian character and the limitations placed on Australian composers; his working habits and his compositional methods and style. In particular, the comments Williamson makes about his life in Australia and Britain, his opinion of Australia and the Australian character and his contribution to the ballet *The Display* have been useful in supporting many of the ideas expressed in this dissertation.

The folder "Biographical cuttings on Malcolm Williamson" includes hundreds of newspaper articles and concert reviews from Australian newspapers dating from the 1960s until the present day. These clippings trace Williamson's success in Britain; his movements during return visits to Australia; local performances of his works and the comments he made about Australia and his national identity in interviews with the press. Numerous articles also document developments in the composer's private life, such as his separation and divorce and in later years, the controversial remarks he made about others;

[31] Malcolm Williamson, "Conversation with Malcolm Williamson," interview by Hazel de Berg, transcript of sound recording, 8 October 1967, National Library of Australia ORAL DeB 290, 291, 292. This transcript is twenty-eight pages in length and the tape recording of this interview consists of three sound tape reels with a total running time of approximately ninety-five minutes.
[32] Malcolm Williamson, "Biographical Cuttings on Malcolm Williamson, composer and Master of the Queen's Music," National Library of Australia, Newspapers/Microforms Reading Room, Bib ID 817772.

as originally published in newspapers in Britain. Many of the newspaper clippings contained in this folder have directly informed the discussion about Williamson's expatriate experience, his projection of an Australian identity and the way that he was perceived and represented by the Australian press in this dissertation.

The other major archive for research into Williamson's life and music is held at Josef Weinberger publishing house in London. This collection includes hundreds of informative newspaper cuttings on the composer and his music. These cuttings are mostly from British newspapers and like those held at the National Library of Australia, they follow the highs and lows of Williamson's career and personal life and collectively, they serve to illuminate the type of relationship he shared with the press. The archive at Josef Weinberger also contains many scores, sound recordings and video recordings that are not readily available elsewhere, including the manuscript versions of the piano rehearsal score for the ballet *The Display* (*A Dance Symphony*) and the full orchestral score of the *Concert Suite from The Display* (*A Dance Symphony*); recordings of both of these works; and even a video recording of a full performance of the ballet *The Display* made by ABC National Television (Melbourne) and featuring the Australian Ballet and Melbourne Symphony Orchestra conducted by Robert Rosen. Without access to these priceless resources, the in-depth discussion of *The Display* provided in Chapter 5 of this thesis would not have been possible. The Weinberger archive also includes many photographs, recordings, advertising materials and other ephemera, making it a valuable resource for research into Williamson's life and music.

In addition to materials held in archives, there are several other primary sources available that provide insight into the composer's thoughts on Australia, Australian music and his own sense of national identity. These include articles written by Williamson, formal

interviews, lectures and a documentary film made with the composer's own words. Williamson's 1966 article "A Composer's Heritage," which was published in *Composer* (the journal of the Composers' Guild of Great Britain),[33] expresses his views on the development of a "national music" in Australia, declaring "all doors must be thrown open to welcome it,"[34] and includes several telling statements about the composer's own construction of "Australianness." Many of the ideas asserted in this paper have been quoted extensively in articles and program notes since, such as Williamson's claim that his music is "characteristically Australian" and his opinion of the Australian character: "We Australians have to offer the world a persona compounded of forcefulness, brashness, a direct warmth of approach, sincerity which is not ashamed, and more of what the Americans call 'get-up-and-go' than the Americans themselves possess."[35]

The broadcast lecture that Williamson gave as the Australian Broadcasting Commission's "Guest of Honour" during his first return visit to Australia in 1967 extended some of the ideas explored in the article mentioned above.[36] In this talk, Williamson spoke openly about his thoughts on Australia, its music, composers, and general public; declaring at the outset that he had longed to be back in his homeland so that he could say what he pleased about the country and its people. He announced that during his visit he had observed first-hand the "forthright" and "direct" social manner of the Australian people and stated his belief that "Our Australianness comes through in our music . . . the brash, candid, no-nonsense character of Australia directs an Australian composer's thinking."[37] His lecture also addressed the limitations placed on composers living in Australia and included his criticism of what he viewed as the "unacceptable" lack of government support for

[33] Malcolm Williamson, "A Composer's Heritage," 69-73.
[34] Malcolm Williamson, "A Composer's Heritage," 72-73.
[35] Malcolm Williamson, "A Composer's Heritage," 71.
[36] Williamson's ABC "Guest of Honour" talk was broadcast on 2FC on the evening of 24 September 1967, exactly two weeks prior to the aforementioned interview with Hazel de Berg.
[37] Malcolm Williamson, "Australian Broadcasting Commission 'Guest of Honour:' Mr Malcolm Williamson," 24 September 1967.

composers living in Australia; he believed that if Australian composers were given the sort of support that the building of the Sydney Opera House had received, there should exist a "precious and indestructible musical tradition, which would survive, even if the Sydney Opera House were to slide into Sydney Harbour."[38]

The paper "How Australian Can Australian Music Become," which Williamson presented at the Commonwealth Section of the Royal Society for Management of Arts, Manufacturers and Commerce in 1970, takes the composer's argument for government support for the arts one step further. In this paper, Williamson praised Australian composers for their dedication and persistence at working in Australia and simultaneously registered his disgust for the lack of funding they received from the Government; stating, "It seems that this music, if not ephemeral, must await some sort of posthumous discovery."[39] He also re-addressed the concept of nationalism in Australian music, with reference to the contributions of four notable Australian composers, Nigel Butterley, George Dreyfus, Richard Meale and Peter Sculthorpe. He encouraged local composers to continue writing identifiably Australian music, stating, "The new Australian music is nationalistic music . . . [and it is affected by] the national character and the way of life."[40] He did not, however, discuss how he projected an Australian identity in his own works in this particular article.

The sixty-minute documentary film *Williamson Down Under* was made during Williamson's promotional tour of Australia in 1975, shortly after he was appointed to the

[38] Malcolm Williamson, "Australian Broadcasting Commission 'Guest of Honour:' Mr Malcolm Williamson."
[39] Malcolm Williamson quoted in "Government's Policy on Arts 'Disgusting,'" *The Canberra Times*, 28 February 1970, 17.
[40] Malcolm Williamson, "How Australian Can Australian Music Become," extracts from a paper read at the Commonwealth Section of the Royal Society for Management of Arts, Manufacturers and Commerce, 1970.

post of Master of the Queen's Music.[41] In the film footage, Williamson addresses the criticisms of the Australian press, his personal feelings about returning to Australia and the impact of his expatriate status upon his sense of Australian identity and his relationship with the Australian press. He declares that despite his decision to live outside Australia and regardless of what the Australian press said about his supposed "lack of patriotism," he still considers himself Australian and finds creative inspiration in the local landscape and other uniquely Australian topoi. He acknowledges that at the time of recording the film, he had not yet made a deep impression upon Australian audiences and expresses hope that his appointment as Master of the Queen's Music will have a positive effect upon the reception of his music in his homeland in the future. He also discusses several of his compositions, including selected cassations, organ works, church music and operas, as well as his childhood in Australia and his friendship with renowned Australian conductor Sir Bernard Heinze. Unfortunately, he does not mention the Australian works he had composed to date in this documentary, however, his comments on his relationship with Australia and the Australian press, which reflect those made in his personal letters, are particularly insightful.

The last formal interview that Williamson gave was conducted by American broadcaster Bruce Duffie in 1996, over twenty years after the composer's appointment as Master of the Queen's Music and as he was nearing the end of his creative life. In this interview, Williamson once again expresses his views towards Australia and its influence upon his compositional style. Revealingly, he admits that expatriation had left him with the feeling that he was unable to "place" himself and that he did not have a "flag you can nail to the mast." Despite the sense of statelessness he felt, however, when asked about his feelings towards Australia, he exclaims "I love it!" and declares that his music is "absolutely

[41] The film was broadcast as part of the BBC's Lively Arts Series in 1975. Malcolm Williamson, *Williamson Down Under* (London: BBC2 The Lively Arts Series, 1975).

Australian in attitude" and that "Australia certainly is in my blood! Australian vegetation, Australian sunlight . . . they'll always be there . . . ."[42] Although Williamson only discusses one of his "Australian" works in this interview, Symphony No. 7, the comments he makes about Australia on this occasion are echoes of those expressed by him numerous times previously and, combined with the other proclamations of Australian identity that he made in interviews and lectures, they have helped to provide evidence of the fact that he projected an Australian identity throughout his working life.

Secondary sources currently available on Williamson vary in terms of their purpose, scope, reliability and the overall contribution they make to the understanding of the composer's life, personality, creative work and his expressions of Australian identity. The only substantial biographical account of Williamson that has been published to date was compiled in the years following the composer's death in 2003.[43] Written by British authors Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, *Malcolm Williamson: A Mischievous Muse* draws on a number of useful sources, including letters written by Williamson and interviews with his family, including one of his sisters, Marion, and his ex-wife, Dolly, as well as interviews with some of his professional colleagues.[44] As such, the sections of the book pertaining to Williamson's early years in Australia and the fifteen years that he spent living with Dolly (until 1975) have been meticulously researched and documented and this information, especially some of the excerpts from the composer's letters, has helped to support some of the arguments made in this thesis.

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[42] Malcolm Williamson, "Composer Malcolm Williamson: A Conversation with Bruce Duffie," interview by Bruce Duffie, transcript, 18 October 1996, available from www.kcstudio/williamson2.html; Internet; accessed 7 June 2007.

[43] It was once rumoured that Williamson was compiling his own autobiography, and later there was speculation that the first biography would be written by the composer's friend, Robert Solomon, however, neither of these projects were ever completed or published.

[44] Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, *Malcolm Williamson: A Mischievous Muse* (London: Omnibus Press, 2007). See also Appendix C, Carolyn Philpott, "Book Review: Malcolm Williamson, A Mischievous Muse," review of *Malcolm Williamson: A Mischievous Muse*, by Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, *Limelight: The ABC's Arts and Entertainment Magazine*, June 2008, 50.

Unfortunately, it is to the book's detriment that Meredith and Harris were not able to secure the imprimatur or input of Williamson's partner (and later also publisher), Simon Campion. Campion not only lived with Williamson for the last twenty-five years of the composer's life, but he also travelled with him, performed with him in some rehearsals and concerts, and assisted in notating, orchestrating, publishing and promoting his compositions. As Williamson's closest associate and confidant from the late 1970s onward, Campion is able to provide – and has generously provided to the author of this dissertation – invaluable first-hand accounts of his life with Williamson, including his recollections of the places they visited, the premieres they attended, the people Williamson associated and collaborated with and the composer's compositional processes and thoughts on Australia. Campion has also allowed the current author to access items and resources unique to the composer's estate and to Campion Press Music Publishers, such as the manuscript scores of various compositions, including Symphony No. 7 (1984), *The Dawn is at Hand* (1989) and the "Introitus" of *Requiem for a Tribe Brother* (1992), as well as numerous recordings of the composer's music (some with the composer as performer) that are no longer available commercially and a comprehensive, up-to-date draft catalogue of Williamson's complete works. The latter-half of Meredith and Harris' book would have benefited immeasurably from the input of a knowledgeable and credible contact such as Campion. As it stands, much of the content of later chapters of their book derives from secondary sources, including some erroneous and misleading media reports,[45] and focuses disproportionately and often scurrilously on Williamson's alleged personal problems,[46]

[45] Some of these media reports will be discussed in Chapter 3 of this present study.

[46] Where facts are lacking in Meredith and Harris' book, unfounded trivia and empty speculation abound; a viewpoint that is supported by Campion. Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 6 January 2008. Within *Malcolm Williamson: A Mischievous Muse* there is generally a deplorable lack of references to the sources of information, particularly in passages of text concerning the composer's alleged frivolities. In some places where a citation is provided, a specific source is not supplied, only a reference to an unnamed "friend of long-standing." There is an example of this on page 332 of Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, *Malcolm Williamson: A Mischievous Muse*. The absence of references to reputable sources does not inspire the reader to have confidence in the authenticity of these stories and given that many of them are salacious in nature, it is difficult to believe that they have been told by someone who the composer would have considered a "friend."

which is perhaps a reflection of the inordinate amount of media attention that aspects of the composer's personal life attracted in the years following his appointment as Master of the Queen's Music.[47]

In the parts of Meredith and Harris' book that concern Williamson's music, some details provided on the commissioning and performance of works and the composer's compositional processes are misleading, taken out of context or completely inaccurate. In some instances, the authors have even used false information as the basis for further speculation. For instance, the meretricious assumption that there was a rift between Williamson and the Royal family is based on a claim that the Master of the Queen's Music was deliberately excluded from the Royal Wedding in 1981,[48] as originally insinuated by the press in numerous articles published at the time. It seems as though Meredith and Harris were unaware, however, that music from Williamson's *Symphony for Organ* (1960) was indeed performed in St Paul's Cathedral on that very occasion.[49]

In addition, there are many instances in Meredith and Harris' book where discussions of compositional techniques could have benefited from a close analysis of the score in question and/or the inclusion of an illustrative musical example. In the discussion of Williamson's orchestral work *In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze*, for example, Meredith and Harris claim that the main theme of the composition is based on Bernard Heinze's initials, B.T.H.,[50] however, they do not give any explanation or musical example to illustrate exactly *how* these initials are presented in the score. As will be shown in

[47] Aspects of Williamson's personal life that impinged on his creative life were the focus of many media reports published on the composer and his music from 1977 onwards. Through an examination of the primary sources mentioned earlier, however, the author of the current dissertation has been able to provide a reassessment of the motivations behind Williamson's attitudes and behaviours, as well as his relationships with the press and professional colleagues. These ideas will be addressed in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.
[48] Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 369.
[49] Simon Campion, Program note for *Now is the Singing Day* by Malcolm Williamson (1981), available from the Williamson Archive at Josef Weinberger Publishing House, London; accessed June 2006. Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal conversation, 29 June 2006.
[50] Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 385.

Chapter 6 of this dissertation, Meredith and Harris' claim in this regard is not entirely accurate.

Most of Williamson's "Australian" compositions are mentioned in Meredith and Harris' book, yet the descriptions of these works are generally restricted to commission and performance details, with the occasional comment added about the overall aural effect of the music. Williamson's projection of an Australia identity is not the primary focus of this British book, and therefore it does not include musical examples or the type of in-depth discussions of the composer's Australian works that are provided in Chapters 4 to 7 of this dissertation. Another point of difference between *Malcolm Williamson: A Mischievous Muse* and this present study is that the former does not address the composer's expatriate experience within the wider context of the general expatriation of Australian creative artists to Britain and in fact, references to other high-profile Australian expatriates appear relatively infrequently in this biography. Additionally, these authors have consistently misspelled the names of several well-known Australians such as Rex Hobcroft and Alan Moorehead,[51] which suggests they are not particularly well-acquainted with some of the other most important and influential figures living and working in Australia during the latter half of the twentieth century. The book does include a comprehensive list of Williamson's works, complete with brief but helpful annotations; however, disappointingly, there is no discography. In particular, a list of original recordings with the composer as performer would have provided an invaluable resource for those eager to hear the real, dynamic Malcolm Williamson. Such a list will be provided in the discography of the present dissertation.

[51] Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 47, 260, 527, 529.

Most other published works on Williamson consist of chapters or sections within discursive texts on Australian music and concise biographical entries within general music dictionaries and encyclopaedias. Roger Covell's landmark 1967 text *Australia's Music: Themes of a New Society* is one of the first books to acknowledge Williamson's contribution to music in Australia by including biographical information and a detailed ten-page overview of the most significant works the composer had produced to date, including four works written specifically for Australia: the *Sydney* volume of solo piano pieces in the *Travel Diaries* series; *Symphony for Voices*;[52] Piano Concerto No. 3 and *The Display*. Covell mentions that Williamson had "proclaimed his national identity"[53] publicly and lists some of the musical elements in the score of *The Display* that are identified in Chapter 5 of this dissertation as identifiably Australian, such as "shrill bird chatter and hollow undergrowth scuffles of rain-forest country."[54]

James Murdoch's 1972 book *Australia's Contemporary Composers* contains a biography of Williamson and one of the first published selected lists of his compositions, which includes fifty-four works composed between 1953 and 1965.[55] Murdoch describes Williamson as an "active force in British music" and lists works that he believes should be familiar to Australian audiences, namely *The Display*, the Third Piano Concerto and two cassations: *The Moonrakers*, which was presented at the Canberra Musica Viva Festival in 1967; and *The Stone Wall*, which was heard at the 1972 Prom Concerts in Sydney.[56] Significantly, Murdoch observes that "in recent years Malcolm Williamson has become aggressively Australian" and makes reference to the composer's public statements on the

[52] Covell describes Williamson as "the most currently successful of all composers of opera of Australian birth" and as one of the "two best-known Australian composers now living in England," the other being Don Banks. He refers to *Symphony for Voices* as Williamson's "best known extended work for voices" composed to date. Roger Covell, *Australia's Music: Themes of a New Society* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1967), 267, 168, 174.
[53] Roger Covell, 169.
[54] Roger Covell, 178.
[55] James Murdoch, *Australia's Contemporary Composers* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1972), 205-7.
[56] James Murdoch, 205.

lack of governmental support for the arts in Australia. Murdoch observed that the composer's effect on the "Australian scene in general [had] been minimal so far,"[57] however, he predicted that Williamson would "surely revitalize many aspects of the Australian scene, were he given the opportunity." [58] It is one of the aims of this present study to evaluate how and to what extent Williamson and his music impacted upon and contributed to Australian musical life.

Biographical information on Williamson and stylistic assessments of some of his compositions are also provided in James Glennon's *Australian Music and Musicians* (1968), Stephen Walsh's entry on Williamson in the first edition of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980),[59] Thérèse Radic's contribution on Williamson in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Music* (1997),[60] Michael Barkl's entry on Williamson in the second edition of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2001), and the article on Williamson by Nicolas Slonimsky, Laura Kuhn and Dennis McIntire in *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (2001), which includes one of the most comprehensive lists of Williamson's compositions currently available.[61] Most catalogues of Williamson's compositions published to date are "selective" or necessarily incomplete because they were published part-way through the composer's creative life. This dissertation will present one of the first complete lists of Williamson's compositions that has been compiled since the composer's death in 2003 and made available to the public (see Appendix B).

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[57] James Murdoch, 205.
[58] James Murdoch, 206.
[59] Stephen Walsh, "Malcolm (Benjamin Graham Christopher) Williamson," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 1st ed. (London: Macmillan, 1980), 436-39.
[60] This article includes a selected list of works.
[61] Nicolas Slonimsky, Laura Kuhn and Dennis McIntire, eds., "Malcolm Williamson," *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (New York: Schirmer, 2001), 3944-45. See also Appendix C, Helen Rusak and Carolyn Philpott, "Williamson, Malcolm (Benjamin Graham Christopher)," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 2nd ed., vol. 17 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2007), 983-85. Biographical information and detailed analyses of Williamson's organ works appear in Peter Hardwick, *British Organ Music of the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2003).

Brian Chatterton's chapter on Williamson in *Australian Composition in the Twentieth Century* (1978), edited by Frank Callaway and David Tunley, provides one of the most detailed overviews of the composer's output that has been published to date, including analysis of some of the most significant works Williamson had composed to that time.[62] Despite the book's focus on Australian composition, however, Chatterton's discussion only refers to one "Australian" work by Williamson, *Symphony for Voices*.[63] In fact, Chatterton admits at the beginning of the chapter that he questioned whether a coverage of Williamson's works even "belongs in a book about Australian composers," considering the length of time that the composer had lived abroad. The deciding factor for the inclusion of this expatriate composer in the book was, in Chatterton's words, Williamson's "readiness, not to say anxiety, to associate his music with what he calls a 'slender Australian tradition.'"[64] The ambiguity of Williamson's cultural identity is obvious in the reluctance of many authors to include a discussion of the composer's works in their books on either Australian or British music. Most books on twentieth-century British music, for example, mention Williamson's name and in some instances even the significance of his contribution to music in Britain in the introductory pages, before excluding him from the main discussion on grounds of his Australian nationality.[65]

Some other biographical sources, such as Michael Barkl's contribution on Williamson in the second edition of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2001), include brief descriptions of some of Williamson's Australian compositions; however, there are few authors who have extended the discussion to mention how or why Williamson projected an Australian identity in these works. One source that does call attention to

[62] Brian Chatterton, "Malcolm Williamson," in *Australian Composition in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Frank Callaway and David Tunley (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978), 146-58.
[63] It is surprising to note that Williamson's most celebrated work for Australia (and the one that has had the most significant impact on Australian audiences and critics), the score for the ballet *The Display*, is not even mentioned by Chatterton.
[64] Brian Chatterton, 146.
[65] An example of one of these sources is Lewis Foreman, ed., *British Music Now* (London: Paul Elek, 1975).

Williamson's Australian identity is Roderic Dunnett's article on Williamson in *Contemporary Composers* (1992). Dunnett writes that Williamson was "happy to admit his 'essentially Australian identity' – of which a directness, freshness and unstuffiness perhaps form a part."[66] He also includes a brief comment on the Australian connections inherent in Williamson's choral symphony *The Dawn is at Hand* (1989); which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7 of this dissertation.

Although many biographical sources acknowledge that Williamson expressed a strong sense of national identity in his verbal remarks, and some even recognise Australian characteristics in the music he composed for his homeland, there is no comprehensive publication available to date that has made the investigation of Williamson's projection of an Australian identity its primary focus. Through the examination of a comprehensive collection of primary resources, including Williamson's personal correspondence and musical scores that have not previously been available to the public, the present study will provide a re-evaluation of some of the commonly-held perceptions of the composer's life, personality traits and creative impetuses, ultimately illuminating how and why Williamson projected an Australian identity and the effect that it had on the reception of his works.

Several journal articles published during Williamson's lifetime also provide insights into the composer's experience as an expatriate, the reception of his works in Britain and Australia, his thoughts on Australia, his construct of "Australianness" and his creative processes. These articles will be examined briefly in chronological order to illustrate the direction of research undertaken to date. Colin Mason's article from 1962 is one of the first scholarly articles to be published that is dedicated solely to Williamson and his compositions. It begins in a biographical mode of delivery and proceeds via discussions of

[66] Roderic Dunnett, "Malcolm Williamson," in *Contemporary Composers*, ed. Brian Morton and Pamela Collins (London: St James Press, 1992), 968.

the major works that Williamson had produced to that time, to conclude with a final paragraph which predicts that "his music, by sheer force of invention and originality, will increasingly demand our attention."[67] Although this article was written very early in Williamson's career and does not address the significance of his early expressions of national identity in music, it does mention two of the works with connections to Australia that he composed in the early 1960s: *Celebration of Divine Love* and *Symphony for Voices*, which both feature texts by Australian poet James McAuley. Mason describes the latter work as "the finest example among his many shortish choral works of his most "serious" style."[68]

Similarly, Stephen Walsh's article "Williamson the Many-Sided" provides an in-depth survey of the most significant compositions Williamson had written to that time, including analytical overviews of *Celebration of Divine Love* and *Symphony for Voices*. The focus of Walsh's research is on the compositional techniques employed, however, rather than on the literary themes or other Australian connections found within these works.

By Williamson's fiftieth birthday in November 1981, it had become obvious to music critics and musicologists in Britain and Australia that many of the composer's works that had been immensely popular with audiences and concert programmers in the late 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s were now on the brink of obscurity. Most scholarly articles published from this time onward attempt to address the reasons for the sudden lack of interest in this formerly-successful composer's musical output. Most of these articles were published in British sources, however, and consequently they do not draw attention to how

[67] Colin Mason, "The Music of Malcolm Williamson," *The Musical Times* (November 1962): 759.
[68] Colin Mason, 758-59.

his compositions were received in Australia or examine his relationship with the Australian press.[69]

Respected music critic Ernest Bradbury, in his article "Williamson at 50," attributes the decline of Williamson's popularity to the "burden" he carried as Master of the Queen's Music.[70] He questions whether the honour may be "too onerous" or if it might be an "inhibiting factor in the development of a lively, compassionate, wholly extrovert composer."[71] Insightfully, he proposes that the tenure of Master should be reduced from a life-long post to a mere five or ten-year appointment, "after which the holder would be released for – if he so wished – even anarchical freedom as an artist."[72] It seems that the Queen's advisors agreed with Bradbury; Williamson's successor, Sir Peter Maxwell-Davies, has been appointed to the post for a ten-year period only.

Fiona Richards' article from 1991 also observes that the composer has been "unjustly neglected of late" and proceeds to provide an informative survey of over thirty of his works, which illuminates the diversity of his output and indirectly implies that a revival of interest in his music is warranted.[73] Richards describes several works that Williamson composed for Australia, including *The Display*, the Second and Third Piano Concertos, Symphony No. 7, *Symphony for Voices*, and *The Dawn is at Hand*. Perhaps due to the fact that her research interests extend to Australian music, this British author and academic makes reference, albeit briefly, to the Australian connections evident in the scores of *The Display* and *The Dawn is at Hand*, stating of the former, "[*The Display*] reflects

[69] These topics will be addressed in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.
[70] Ernest Bradbury, "Williamson at 50," *The Musical Times* 122: 1665 (November 1981): 737. Most of Bradbury's article focuses on the *Mass of Christ the King*, due to it being the "most substantial work by Williamson [written] in the last five years (the period that goes beyond that covered by Stephen Walsh in *The New Grove*)." Ernest Bradbury, 737.
[71] Ernest Bradbury, 737.
[72] Ernest Bradbury, 737.
[73] Fiona Richards, "Malcolm Williamson," *Classical Music: The Repertoire Guide* (12 January 1991).

Williamson's affinity with his home country in its portrayal of the heart of the Australian forestland."[74] Although she has only written a few sentences on the subject, Richards is one of the few British scholars to recognise and make note of Williamson's expressions of Australian identity in his musical works.

Chris de Souza's article "The Right Question," written in celebration of Williamson's sixtieth birthday, provides more insight than most other scholarly articles into Williamson's expatriate experience and views on Australia.[75] De Souza interviewed Williamson prior to writing the article and has included word-for-word quotations from the composer's replies to questions about his life, relationship with Australia and the way he was treated by the press. Williamson's responses to questions about his appointment as Master of the Queen's music and the criticism it attracted in Australia are especially revealing and underpin some of the arguments made in this dissertation. For example, Williamson admits to de Souza that he feels as though Australia had "rejected" him and that he had been left to "make [his] own way in Britain,"[76] but then later in the same interview he goes to great lengths to reaffirm his Australian identity and the Australianness of his music, stating, "my Australianism is in me . . . in the music, it's only an Australian . . . who would push through a door marked 'pull,'" a metaphor he had used numerous times previously when discussing the unique qualities of the Australian character.

Christopher Austin, a British conductor, orchestrator and academic and one of the few to champion Williamson's works in later years, wrote an article for *British Music* that questions why the music of this prolific and once-successful composer is now so rarely

[74] Fiona Richards, "Malcolm Williamson."
[75] Chris de Souza, "The Right Question," *The Musical Times* 132: 1785 (November 1991): 562-64.
[76] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Chris de Souza, "The Right Question," 563.

heard.[77] Austin gives two possible explanations for this dramatic shift of public interest: firstly, he believes that "an overriding characteristic of our contemporary musical life is its short memory . . . [in other words, this culture] values the new for a time and then discards it," and secondly, he suggests that Williamson may have been "a victim of his own prodigality" because in Britain there exists a "popular critical equation (selectively applied) that a *fluent* composer is most likely a *facile* composer whose output is necessarily uneven because of composing *too much* . . . this critical suspicion has pertained to most assessments of Williamson's work."[78] While these arguments are convincing and probably entirely accurate, Austin does not extend the discussion to question *why* Williamson adopted a wide-ranging and inclusive idiom in the first place. As later chapters of this present study will reveal, this is directly related to the composer's Australian background and his experience as an Australian expatriate living in Britain. There are also several other reasons for the decline of Williamson's popularity that Austin did not address and these will be discussed in Chapter 3. Austin also describes, in varying detail, a number of the most significant works that Williamson produced during the 1960s, including *The Display*. In his discussion of this work, however, he focuses more on aspects of the scenario rather than on how its uniquely Australian themes are represented by the composer in the score; this latter topic will be addressed in detail in Chapter 5.

Of Williamson's "Australian" works, *The Display* is the most widely known and therefore, it is not surprising that this work, with its provocative scenario and imaginative musical score, has attracted the most attention from scholars of any of the works he produced for Australia. One of the first scholarly articles to be published on *The Display* actually focuses on the ballet's décor rather than its scenario, choreography or music. Michelle

[77] Christopher Austin, "To Be a Pilgrim – Malcolm Williamson at 70," *British Music* 23 (2001): 5-9. This article was written to mark the occasion of the composer's seventieth birthday.
[78] Christopher Austin, 5, 9.

Potter's article "Spatial Boundaries: Sidney Nolan's Ballet Designs" describes Nolan's setting and costumes for *The Display* and discusses how they helped to advance the narrative and mood of the ballet's scenario and how they complemented and enhanced Helpmann's choreography.[79] Potter also comments on the significance of *The Display* as the first "wholly Australian"[80] ballet for the Australian Ballet company, as well as Nolan's contribution to the ballet's overall success.

This was followed in 1999 by Amanda Card's article "Violence, Vengeance and Violation: 'The Display', A 'Powerful Dramatic Work, Intended to be Very Australian,'" which provides a descriptive reading of the scenario, choreography and score of *The Display* and an overview of the creation, performance and critical reception of the work; addressing aspects of national representation and gender identity and exploring the relationship between music and dance.[81] Although published in a music journal, the article focuses heavily on the contribution of choreographer Robert Helpmann to the ballet, including his attempts to capture a sense of the Australian "way of life" in the scenario.[82] While Card mentions some of the compositional devices employed by Williamson to support Helpmann's scenario, she does not address in any detail the composer's use of instrumental colour and carefully-crafted melodic and rhythmic figures to underpin and enhance the ballet's uniquely Australian elements. As a part of the present study, examination of the full-score and video recording of *The Display* has identified a number of compositional

[79] Michelle Potter, "Spatial Boundaries: Sidney Nolan's Ballet Designs," *Brolga* (December 1995): 53-67. This article also examines two of Nolan's previous ballet commissions, *Icare* (1940) and *Rite of Spring* (1962), and discusses the artist's exploration of spatial boundaries, including those between performer and design, in order to create coherent, three-dimensional spaces in which the performances could unfold.
[80] Michelle Potter, 62.
[81] Amanda Card, "Violence, Vengeance and Violation: 'The Display,' A 'Powerful Dramatic Work, Intended to be Very Australian,'" *Australasian Music Research* 4 (1999): 77. Further information about *The Display* can be found in Peggy van Praagh, *Ballet in Australia* (Melbourne: Longmans, 1965); Ian F. Brown ed., *The Australian Ballet 1962-1965: A Record of the Company, its Dancers and its Ballets* (Melbourne: Longmans, 1967); and Edward H. Pask, *Ballet in Australia: The Second Act 1940-1980* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1982).
[82] It also includes several paragraphs detailing Helpmann's efforts to construct and maintain a public image of himself as the "local boy who made good" in Australia. Amanda Card, 81.

techniques through which Williamson reinforced the Australian topoi explored in the ballet's scenario.

Williamson's score for *The Display* has also been examined in at least two previous Ph.D. dissertations. Joel Crotty's much-quoted dissertation from 1999 focuses on emerging balletic collaborations in Australia up to the year 1964, with particular focus on ballets that reflect the Australian "way of life" and explore the unique aspects of Australian society and its natural environment.[83] *The Display* is discussed in detail, including the many Australian themes explored in the ballet's scenario and how they are represented in the score. Crotty provides a descriptive analysis of the visual and aural effects of the ballet, supported by illustrative musical examples, rather than an in-depth analysis of compositional devices used. His discussion is somewhat limited by the fact that he was not able to access the full theatrical score of the ballet and instead had to rely on the greatly reduced concert suite version to inform his research.[84] Helpfully, however, he places the ballet and its reception within its historical context and his observation that the *The Display* is as ingrained in the "Australian aesthetic"[85] as Antill's *Corroboree* is both perceptive and insightful.

Rachel Hocking's 2006 dissertation aims to provide an extension of Crotty's research.[86] Hocking gives a comprehensive overview of *The Display* and three other successful Australian ballets, using the works as case studies through which she illuminates the common types of artistic connections made between composers and choreographers in

[83] Joel Crotty, "Choreographic Music in Australia, 1913-1964: From Foreign Reliance to an Independent Australian Stance," Ph.D. dissertation, Monash University, June 1999.
[84] Joel Crotty, 267.
[85] Joel Crotty, 128.
[86] Rachel Hocking, "Crafting Connections: Original Music for the Dance in Australia, 1960-2000," Ph.D. dissertation, School of Music and Music Education, University of New South Wales, 2006.

Australia between the years 1960 and 2000.[87] In her discussion of *The Display*, Hocking focuses on the process of collaboration between Helpmann and Williamson and the influences on the composition of the music. She includes analysis of the main themes and overall structure of the score, showing the relationships between the melodic themes used to represent each character and revealing that the "dance symphony," as Williamson referred to it, follows the theatrical form of a dance suite, rather than the form of a traditional four-movement symphony.

Hocking briefly mentions the Australian themes explored in the synopsis and how they are reinforced by the score, such as the use of bird calls to represent the Australian lyrebird. While her analysis is detailed, there are a few glaring omissions in her discussion of the work. For example, she makes the claim that "unlike Australian composers who followed him, Williamson asserted that he wrote in an Australian way merely because he was Australian . . . . He did not make a decision to write 'Australian' music: he assumed that whatever he wrote would be 'Australian.'"[88] While this may have been true during the early 1960s when Williamson was working on *The Display*, the same could not be said of the works he composed for Australia in the 1970s and 1980s, in which it is obvious that he had made a conscious decision to write "Australian" music; however, Hocking does not make this point clear.[89] Further to this, Hocking makes the assertion that the character of "The Outsider" in the ballet was particularly relevant to the three collaborators because they had each "experienced being outsiders both in Australian and international society;"[90] however, she does not elaborate upon this point or support it with references or quotations

[87] Rachel Hocking, 14.
[88] Rachel Hocking, 126-27.
[89] The works Williamson composed on Australian themes in the 1970s and 1980s will be discussed in detail in Chapters 6 and 7 of this dissertation. In addition, Hocking states that the collaboration between Helpmann, Williamson and Nolan was "one of the most distinguished collaborations of all time, as all three participants had been knighted by the Queen." Rachel Hocking, 127. Although it can still be considered a "distinguished" collaboration because of the prominent position held by each of the creative artists in their respective field, it is a widely-known fact that Williamson was never offered a knighthood, neither before nor after he was appointed Master of the Queen's Music.
[90] Rachel Hocking, 154.

from the individuals in question, despite the fact that each spoke openly about such topics in interviews with the press. This idea will be addressed and expanded upon in Chapter 5.

Other previous theses or dissertations on Williamson's music have restricted their subject matter to a specific musical genre,[91] or undertaken analysis of one composition,[92] or alternatively, investigated Williamson's music in conjunction with works by other composers.[93] While these previous theses have contributed to the body of knowledge in relation to various aspects of Williamson's oeuvre and compositional language, few attempts have been made to discuss the works he composed for Australia and to date, no previous study has focussed on the composer's projection of Australian identity, his expatriate experience, or his contribution to music in Australia. Only recently, since Williamson's death in 2003, has it been possible to contextualise and provide a thorough evaluation of his contribution to music in Australia and abroad. There are now more primary sources available on the composer than ever before, and this current study is the first to draw on valuable previously-unexplored material, such as manuscript scores and the composer's personal correspondence, to support, question and in some instances, refute, the information provided in previous studies.

As Paul Conway observed in 2008, "a detailed survey and critical analysis of Williamson's output remains to be written"[94] and while a comprehensive analysis of the composer's complete corpus of musical works is beyond the scope of this present study, this project

[91] See Fiona Trisha Cook, "A Critical Review of Select Works for Solo Voice and Piano of Malcolm Williamson," Honours thesis, University of Queensland, 1984; Elizabeth M. Crawford, "The Published Piano Sonatas of Malcolm Williamson: A Critical Analysis," Honours Thesis, University of Queensland, 1985; and Belinda Kendall-Smith, "Pitch Processes in the Major Symphonies of Malcolm Williamson," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Queensland, 1995.
[92] See Phillip Gearing, "Malcolm Williamson's Organ Symphony: An Analysis of Serial Technique," M.Mus thesis, University of Queensland, 1989.
[93] See Barbara Janet Wilson, "Select Vocal Works for Female Voice by Six Australian Composers," Honours thesis, University of Queensland, 1979.
[94] Paul Conway, "Book Reviews, Malcolm Williamson: A Mischievous Muse by Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris," *Tempo* 62 (244): 49.

nevertheless aims to fill a gap in the literature by providing a detailed survey of the works he composed specifically for Australia and identifying the ways through which he created a nexus between these compositions and a sense of Australia. With a revival of his music now underway, it is timely and appropriate to study Malcolm Williamson's contribution to music and cultural life in Australia.

The link between Williamson's projection of an Australian identity and his expatriate experience underpins the main argument of this dissertation and to place this discussion in context, the experiences of numerous other Australian expatriate creative artists will be considered in Chapter 2. There are several useful sources available that address the topic of expatriation generally, including Jim Davidson's 1978 book *The Expatriates*; Leon and Rebeca Grinberg's *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile* (1989); K.S. Inglis' chapter "Going Home: Australians in England, 1870-1900" in *Home or Away? Immigrants in Colonial Australia* (1992); and Carl Bridge and Glenn Calderwood's article "Australians in the UK" in *Around the Globe* (Autumn 2006). There are few sources, however, that are devoted entirely to exploring the experiences of Australian expatriate creative artists, despite the fact that most viewed the act of leaving Australia as a "rite of passage." The first and only study to examine this topic comprehensively is Stephen Alomes' *When London Calls: the Expatriation of Australian Creative Artists to Britain* (1999).[95] This book can be viewed as a collective biography of several groups of prominent Australians from the fields of fine art, literature, theatre, and music who moved to Britain in the years following the Second World War. It provides an overview of the experiences and views of figures as diverse as Sidney Nolan and Arthur Boyd in art; Richard Neville and Peter Porter in writing; Phillip Knightley and Murray Sayle in journalism; Leo McKern and Alan Seymour in the theatre; Charles Mackerras, Barry

[95] Stephen Alomes, *When London Calls: The Expatriation of Australian Creative Artists to Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Tuckwell, Malcolm Williamson and Don Banks in music and other significant individuals, labelled "Megastars," such as Barry Humphries, Germaine Greer, Robert Hughes and Clive James. In addition, Alomes comments on the complex relationship between Australia and Britain and the implications of the Australian expatriate movement on the development of a national culture.

While Alomes' survey of the expatriate experiences of Australian creative artists is detailed and informative, there are many instances in the book where he leaves a discussion open-ended or does not consider both sides of an argument. For example, he hints at the notion that by leaving Australia, many musicians and composers may have hindered the establishment of a national identity in music,[96] but then fails to acknowledge the contribution that many of these successful figures made to raising the profile of Australian music and musicians abroad and by encouraging the younger generation to aspire to the same degree of success. He appears to rely heavily on the ideas and opinions of others, particularly in his discussion of the journeys of the "Megastars" Robert Hughes, Germaine Greer, Barry Humphries and Clive James,[97] providing little in the way of personal reflection or concluding remarks. In some places in the book, the attention paid to particular figures seems to be based more on how much information Alomes was able to accumulate on them, and not on the significance of their contributions. For example, equal space in the book is given to journalists – to whom the application of the term "creative artist" is questionable – as to musicians and composers, whilst other expatriate figures who would fit well within the "creative artist" category, such as Robert Helpmann, barely receive a mention.

[96] Stephen Alomes, 147, 165.
[97] Alomes' research methods and interpretations were met with strong criticism by Clive James, who stated that Alomes' book would be enough to make "any current expatriate think twice before coming home for anything longer than a brief incognito visit, and might well recruit new expatriates by the plane-load." Clive James, "Up Here from Down There," *Even as we Speak: New Essays 1993-2000* (London: Picador, 2001), 258.

Alomes' discussion of Malcolm Williamson's expatriate journey is relatively concise; consisting of about three pages of text, spread across three different chapters. In addition to providing the standard biographical outline associated with Williamson, Alomes gives a useful overview of the composer's relationship with Australia, including the return visits he made, his thoughts on Australia as conveyed in interviews, the major works he composed for his homeland, his capacity for arousing controversy and his strained relationship with the Australian press. While most of this information is based on widely-known and accepted facts about the composer, the author tends to rely very heavily on media reports. As a result, his evaluation of Williamson's expatriate experience is not as comprehensive or accurate as that which will be provided in Chapter 3 of this present study, which will draw on primary sources that have been made available to the public in the years following the publication of Alomes' book. Additionally, Alomes does not address how the composer's expatriate experience impacted upon the works he composed, nor does he describe in any depth the "Australian" topoi that are evident in the works he wrote for Australia.

Other aspects of Alomes' discussion of Williamson have helped to inform or support some of the contentions made in this dissertation. Alomes confirms the commonly-accepted view that Williamson was "caught in an expatriate gulf which was arguably not of his own making," that is, after several years living in Britain, the composer was no longer considered a "true Australian" and yet, in Britain, he was considered too Australian to be British.[98] The author also recognises distinctively Australian elements in the composer's character, concluding, "there was something very Australian about Williamson."[99] Importantly, Alomes places this discussion in context by detailing the experiences of other Australian composers and musicians who arrived in London at a similar time, including

[98] Stephen Alomes, 158.
[99] Stephen Alomes, 157.

Don Banks, David Lumsdaine, Charles Mackerras, Barry Tuckwell, Joan Sutherland, Geoffrey Parsons and Geoffrey Chard, and the ideas expressed in this section significantly underpin the arguments made in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, "Artistic Australians Abroad."

There are several other sources available that trace the experiences of a small number of prominent Australian expatriates, not all of whom ventured to Britain, but whose journeys nevertheless help to place Williamson's experiences in context. Clyde Packer, in his 1984 book *No Return Ticket*, interviews several well-known Australian expatriates living in America, including Robert Hughes and Germaine Greer. These two figures also appear in Ian Britain's 1997 publication *Once an Australian*, which focuses specifically on expatriate writers and also includes chapters on Barry Humphries and Clive James. Biographies and autobiographies of Australian expatriate creative artists also provide valuable insights into the expatriate experience.

Several other sources on the relationship between Australia and Britain have helped to contextualise and contribute to the understanding of the reverse-migration experience and the implications of post-colonial attitudes on expatriates. These include two publications of essays by A.A. Phillips, *The Australian Tradition: Studies in a Colonial Culture* (1958) and *On the Cultural Cringe* (2006); A.F. Madden and W.H. Morris-Jones' book *Australia and Britain: Studies in a Changing Relationship* (1980); Manning Clark's paper *The Quest for an Australian Identity* (1980); Richard White's book *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688-1980* (1981); John Rickard's *Australia: A Cultural History* (1988); the collection of papers published under the title *Australia and Britain: The Evolving Relationship* (1993); and David Malouf's detailed article "Made in England: Australia's British Inheritance" in *Quarterly Essay* (2003). While an in-depth critique of these

publications is beyond the scope of this study, these sources have proved useful in providing background information on the complex relationship between Australia and Britain and have been helpful in supporting and validating some of the ideas presented later in this dissertation.

This study aims to reveal how and why Malcolm Williamson projected an Australian identity in his music and public persona; serving to enhance the current understanding of the composer's life, personality, creative work and contribution to music in Australia. Some of the information included in this dissertation will serve to confirm or even challenge aspects of the composer's life and creative output discussed in previous studies; however, most of the material is completely new and will fill gaps relating to the knowledge of Williamson's Australian works and his sense of national identity. Prior to analysing Williamson's expatriate experience and its impact upon his compositional output, it is important to establish the historical context in which this took place. The appropriate starting point for this discussion is to examine and compare the expatriate experiences of other high-profile Australian creative artists in order to reveal any emerging trends that may be significant. This will be the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter Two

Artistic Australians Abroad

Malcolm Williamson was one of many Australian creative artists who expatriated to Britain after World War II to pursue career opportunities not available at home. The wave of expatriation that occurred at this time was significant in terms of its size; however, the trend for Australian-born creative artists to relocate to Britain was actually established much earlier, in the years leading up to the Federation of the Australian colonies in 1901.[1] This pre-Federation period witnessed the expatriation of the soprano Nellie Melba (1886), the composer Percy Grainger (1895), the painter Arthur Streeton (1897) and the writer Henry Lawson (1900), to name but a few. Although the relationship between Australia and Britain evolved significantly during the twentieth century, there are strong parallels that can be drawn between the experiences of almost all successful Australian expatriate creative artists, regardless of when they were born or when they left Australia. This chapter will focus on the parallels evident between the experiences of expatriate musicians and composers in particular, but will also extend to Australians working in other artistic fields, in order to contextualise the expatriate experience of Malcolm Williamson. Several of these figures spent extended periods in England before returning to resume their work in Australia, while others stayed abroad permanently, returning for nothing more than fleeting visits. The experiences of these expatriate creative artists are not only individually fascinating, but collectively they provide a mapping of Australia's cultural history and the complexity of the psychological relationship between Australians and the "mother country," England. Importantly, it will be shown that Williamson was not alone in his desire to maintain a connection with his homeland and to project an Australian identity in

[1] The years leading up to Federation saw a strong trend towards expatriation in general. According to the England and Wales census of 1901, there were 15, 295 Australian-born in England and Wales on the evening of 30 March 1901. Carl Bridge and Glenn Calderwood, "Australians in the UK," *Around the Globe* (Autumn 2006): 27.

his verbal comments and creative work. An appropriate starting point for this discussion is to provide a brief overview of the relationship between Australia and Britain and the history of Australian expatriation to Britain, which dates back almost as far as the European settlement of the Australian colonies in the late eighteenth century.

Since the time the first settlements were established in Australia and the first convict boats arrived, reverse-migration to Britain has been culturally significant.[2] For the convicts who had been brought to Australia to serve long and trying sentences in penal institutions at a colonial outpost, the possibility of a return to Britain signified freedom and potential reacceptance in society. The same was true for many free settlers, who felt like outsiders in Australia's strange, sterile and even hostile environment.[3] The strong attachment that many early settlers felt to the "mother country" was passed onto their children and grandchildren, who, despite having been born in Australia, continued the habit of referring to Britain as "home."[4] While there was an increase of national consciousness in Australia during the late nineteenth century, especially among the supporters of the *Bulletin*, the push for Federation during this time was made largely for geographical reasons and because of a widespread wish to unify the colonies, rather than for the purpose of asserting a local identity over a British one.[5] Many Australians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries remained fiercely loyal to Britain and wealthy Australian families sent their sons to be educated in England, with the hope that they would eventually gain

[2] Stephen Alomes, *When London Calls: The Expatriation of Australian Creative Artists to Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 2.
[3] Reports of colonial families losing their children to the "strange and silent country" reflected the depth of the white settlers' distrust of their new land and its native inhabitants. The concept of the lost child became an emblem of white Australian society, making appearances across many artistic mediums, including painting, photography, pantomime, fiction, verse and music. Peter Pierce, *The Country of Lost Children: An Australian Anxiety* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1999), i.
[4] This habit continued into the 1930s and only really changed as a result of the Second World War, when Australia was forced to become more independent. For more information see Richard White, "The Australian Way of Life," *Historical Studies* vol. 18, no. 73 (1979): 530-31.
[5] David Malouf, "Made in England: Australia's British Inheritance," *Quarterly Essay* 12 (2003): 27.

entrance to the universities of Oxford or Cambridge.[6] London was commonly considered the cultural capital of the Empire, and the city that ambitious creative artists and intellectuals wanted to experience first hand, in order to test their competence by universal standards and to pursue employment opportunities that did not exist in Australia at the time.[7] London also provided a base for those wishing to explore the sights and landscapes described in English and European literature, to view the paintings that they had come to know through reproductions and to experience the music of the great European composers performed in its place of origin.

From the time of European settlement until the early twentieth century, the Australian national character was commonly considered British. It took many years and a number of wars before a distinctive national character or "type" began to emerge in Australia. While the physical strength and fighting spirit of the Australian male had been exhibited during the second Boer War (1899-1902), it was World War I and, specifically, the landing of Australian and New Zealand troops at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915 that established the "Diggers" as heroes in Australian society and highlighted the following qualities as characteristics of the Australian male: "independence, manliness, a fondness for sport, egalitarianism, a dislike of mental effort, self-confidence, and a certain disrespect for authority."[8] While Australia's ties to Britain remained strong through the period of the First and Second World Wars,[9] anti-British sentiments emerged periodically, especially following Gallipoli; after all, it had been British strategists who had organised for Australian troops to be sent into a war zone in which they had little chance of emerging victorious.[10] Consequently, Australians began to question whether they were indeed

[6] David Malouf, 27.
[7] John Rickard, *Australia: A Cultural History* (London: Longman, 1988), 135. Note that even Rickard's book on Australia's cultural history, completed during the bicentenary year, was published in London.
[8] Richard White, *Reinventing Australia* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1981), 76-77.
[9] John Rickard, 135.
[10] John Rickard, 119-20.

comprised of "British stock" and instead looked to qualities that could be considered unique to their own nationality. For example, the lack of a strong class system in Australia had caused many locals to embrace egalitarianism and "mateship" as Australian social ideals and these, combined with an intense disregard for pretentiousness, were qualities that helped to distinguish Australians from the British. Pro-Australian feelings were aroused again during the Second World War, when the "young" country was forced to "grow up," become independent and form alliances with countries other than Britain. It was after the Second World War that the phrase "Australian way of life" gained currency in political speeches and the press, although few were able to define it explicitly.[11]

As Australia began to establish and assert its own cultural identity post-World War II, it became even more common for Australians to compare themselves and their local cultural products to British models. Naturally, Australia's status as a colonial outpost of Britain and its continuing cultural ties with the "mother country" had a negative impact upon many native-born Australians and their self image. Most Australians, whether living at home or abroad, had the uneasy feeling that as "provincials," their experiences and opinions were second-rate, especially when it came to matters of education and culture.[12] During the first half of the twentieth century, in particular, it became the general consensus among Australians of British descent that most aspects of Australian cultural life were thin and insubstantial in comparison with life in Britain. According to the expatriate writer David Malouf (b. 1934), it was "only *outside* Australia, in that source of all value and meaning – and from all objects too, since virtually everything we used was imported from there, that

[11] For more information on the "Australian way of life," see W.E.H. Stanner, "The Australian Way of Life" in *Taking Stock: Aspects of Mid-Century Life in Australia*, ed. W.A. Aughterson (Melbourne: F.W. Cheshire, 1953): 1-14.
[12] David Malouf, 27.

perfect Platonic realm called 'England' – that the world was solid and experience authentic and real . . . ."[13]

The post-colonial Australian tendency to regard local cultural products as inferior to those produced overseas became known as the "cultural cringe," a term coined in 1950 by the Australian writer A.A. Phillips.[14] This "disease at the heart of colonial life"[15] formed the deepest imbalance of all between Australia and the "mother country" and it was felt not only by Australians living in Australia, but also by those living in England. The cultural cringe appeared not only in the tendency to make needless comparisons and the sense of inadequacy that usually followed, but also in the form of what Phillips identified as the "cringe inverted."[16]

One manifestation of the "cringe inverted" was the resentment that many nationally-conscious Australians held towards those who preferred the foreign to the local, the British to the Australian. The Australian creative artists who were conspicuously successful in England became the targets of strong criticism. Not only had they "chosen" the metropolitan over the colonial, but they had also abandoned Australia when its cultural development relied on their support and creative input the most. Regardless of the fact that there were few professional opportunities available to them in their homeland, many of these expatriates were labelled "traitors," and when they responded to such accusations, they usually attracted derision and hostility from Australia. Many of the expatriate creative

[13] David Malouf, 29.
[14] Phillips' essay, "The Cultural Cringe," was published in the magazine *Meanjin* in 1950. The essay also appears in A.A. Phillips, *On the Cultural Cringe* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press Masterworks, 2006).
[15] David Malouf, 29.
[16] A.A. Phillips, 2.

artists included in the following discussion were also branded "tall poppies,"[17] and/or became victims of the widespread Australian tendency to denigrate or "cut down" high achievers to a manageable size, otherwise known as the "Tall Poppy Syndrome."[18] These figures and their expatriate journeys will be discussed chronologically, in order to place their experiences in historical context.

The soprano Nellie Melba (1861-1931) was one of the first Australians to achieve international success in the field of music.[19] As a child, she had been aware of the limited opportunities for musical training and performance in Australia and through her adolescence and early adulthood, the idea of moving to England had become her "ruling ambition."[20] At the age of twenty-three, she declared:

> I would give ten years of my life to be able to get to Europe to have a trial, I feel certain I would have some success . . . . The more I think of it the more desperate I get . . . I feel every day I stay here is another day wasted, there is no one that can teach me anything here . . . all I can say is that I would give my head to get Home [to Europe] . . . .[21]

Melba left Australia for England in 1886 and did not return until 1902, by which time she had achieved international fame. Her success abroad had not gone unnoticed in Australia and she was received with great warmth and enthusiasm by local audiences and critics during her stay.[22] Her concerts were well-attended and to her delight, she observed that

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[17] "Tall Poppy" is a pejorative term used to describe an individual whose distinction attracts hostility. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the terms "Tall Poppy" and "Tall Poppy Syndrome" were first seen in their current usage in the 1970s and 1980s, respectively.

[18] B. Peeters, "Tall Poppies and Egalitarianism in Australian Discourse: From Key Word to Cultural Value," *English World-Wide* vol. 25, no. 1 (2004): 1-25.

[19] Melba's name at birth was Helen Porter Mitchell. She adopted the name "Melba" in honour of her home town of Melbourne. Nellie Melba, *Melodies and Memories*, ed. John Cargher (Melbourne: Nelson, 1980), 37-38.

[20] Nellie Melba quoted in Thérèse Radic, *Melba: The Voice of Australia* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1986), 32. Melba left Australia with her father, David Mitchell.

[21] Nellie Melba quoted in Thérèse Radic, ix. Most Australian-born people of British descent of Melba's generation referred to Britain as "home," regardless of whether or not they had set foot there.

[22] She later admitted, "how different was my home-coming to my departure . . . then I had been an unknown girl, setting out on a lonely and arduous adventure; now they had put red carpets down for me, they sent their

people had travelled from drought-stricken areas, "from the wilds of the Bush, from outlying hamlets, sometimes travelling for several days in acute discomfort, just to hear me sing . . . . It was as wonderful a tribute as any artist had ever had."[23] Australian audiences and critics were obviously impressed and even "star-struck" by her international success, as the following excerpt from a welcome speech given to Melba by the Ormond Professor of Music at the University of Melbourne reveals:

> Your living presence has compelled this immature, partially cultured, somewhat unintellectual city to dimly feel for a moment that presence of that occult divine power which in higher states of civilisation is openly worshipped . . . and you, madame, who [comes] from . . . historical seats of the ancient splendour, power, and culture of the human race, seem to waft with you something of their aroma, of their beauty, their traditions, in the presence of which even modern, plebeian, democratic Melbourne becomes animated, festive, and joyous. You are to us the ambassadress of that far romantic ideal world of art, of beauty, and of adventurous hope to which we vaguely aspire . . . .[24]

This speech shows the extent to which even highly-educated and cultured Australians were afflicted by the so-called "cultural cringe" at the very beginning of the twentieth century. At the other extreme, Melba also experienced the "Tall Poppy Syndrome" during her 1902 visit, when malicious gossip about her private life was circulated by the press.[25] Melba was not exactly surprised by the behaviour of the local press, later commenting, "It was only to be expected that when I returned to Australia after sixteen years there would be at least a few scandalmongers to spread their gossip about me . . ."[26] and to some extent, she probably believed the old adage that bad press is better than no press.

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mayors and their corporations, their officials, their leaders of art and literature and society to meet me, they pelted me with flowers." Nellie Melba, 138.

[23] Nellie Melba, 140.

[24] Thérèse Radic, 103.

[25] According to the Australian press, Melba had been hiding an alcohol-dependency problem and had conducted numerous affairs with prominent tenors, baritones and conductors, "it did not seem to matter very much which." Nellie Melba, 143.

[26] Nellie Melba, 142-43.

Regardless of any ill-feelings, Melba's love for Australia remained "as strong as ever"[27] and she made a number of subsequent return visits, including an extensive tour of small "outback" towns in 1909.[28] The fact that this "bush" tour took place at the height of her fame proves that she felt a great sense of loyalty towards her fellow Australians.[29] In her own words, she had "known what exile meant"[30] and because of this, she seemed to crave the adulation and acceptance of her fellow Australians more desperately than the praise she received at Covent Garden. With each return visit, Melba felt more and more that she would like to settle in Australia and in 1923, she had a house built near Lilydale, where she had lived as a child.[31] She returned to Australia permanently in late 1930 and died there in February 1931. During the last two decades of her life, Melba focussed her fame and fortune on furthering the cause of Australian music.[32]

While Melba maintained her Australian identity throughout her life – stating at the opening of her 1925 "autobiography," *Melodies and Memories*, "If you wish to understand me at all you must understand first and foremost that I am an Australian"[33] – simultaneously, she exhibited the Australian tendency to "cringe" to the English, and was at times heard mocking the character traits of her compatriots in order to differentiate herself from them.[34]

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[27] Nellie Melba, 141.
[28] She made return visits/tours of Australia in 1902, 1909, 1911, 1914 (she spent the war years in Australia), 1922, 1924, 1927 and 1928, and returned permanently in late 1930.
[29] Joseph Wechsberg, *Red Plush and Black Velvet: The Story of Dame Nellie Melba and Her Times* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962), 280.
[30] Nellie Melba, 185.
[31] Thérèse Radic, 135.
[32] She negotiated with J. C. Williamson about the prospect of launching a season of grand opera that would rival that of Covent Garden and continued her long-term involvement with the Albert Street Conservatorium in Melbourne, teaching a new generation of Australian singers the methods she had devised and perfected herself, and raising proceeds for the concert space Melba Hall, which was officially opened in 1913.
[33] Nellie Melba, 1-2. *Melodies and Memories* was ghost-written by Melba's friend, the English journalist and popular writer Beverley Nichols.
[34] According to reports, Melba was also capable of extreme jealousy if musical competition appeared from her homeland, and she targeted female singers such as Florence Austral (Florence Fawaz) in particular. Austral left Australia in 1919 and Melba disliked the fact that she had copied "her idea" of using another stage name. According to the Australian writer Max Harris, Melba "was the prime exemplar of the Australian tall poppy syndrome . . . . She pretended [Florence Astral] didn't exist. Even if they passed backstage, Melba stared straight through her fellow countrywoman. If she couldn't be destroyed she just wasn't there . . . . She hated female colleagues and would destroy them as ruthlessly as her dad would blast a

In 1907 Melba reportedly told the English contralto Clara Butt, who was about to tour Australia, to "sing 'em muck! It's all they can understand"[35] and according to Beverley Nichols:

> If only the Australians could have heard how Melba herself used to rail against her own country! If only I had possessed a gramophone record of the mocking, bitter invective which she poured out upon Australia and everything Australian! . . . I found myself in the curious position of having to defend her own countrymen against her onslaughts. "They may be crude," I would say, "but they're incredibly warm-hearted and hospitable, and they're anxious to learn." She brushed such protests aside: "They're hopeless . . . hopeless!"[36]

Melba's character was full of contradictory elements and she would often change her opinion on a given subject to suit the circumstances. The conflicting comments she made about Australia and her fellow Australians through her life are just one example of this and they reveal her inner desire to be accepted by the people of whichever country she was working in at the time. As will be illustrated in the discussion that follows, this need to gain approval and to feel a sense of acceptance and belonging was common to the expatriate experience and most of these figures also attempted to maintain a connection with their homeland, Australia, by projecting an Australian identity in their verbal remarks and/or their creative products.

Parallels are apparent between the expatriate experience of Melba and that of the composer and pianist Percy Grainger (1882-1961), who left Australia for Europe in 1895.[37] Grainger

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quarry face." Max Harris, *The Unknown Great Australia and Other Psychobiographical Portraits* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1983), 27-31.

[35] Nellie Melba quoted in Thérèse Radic, 126.

[36] Beverly Nichols quoted in Thérèse Radic, 103.

[37] Grainger and Melba knew each other through family connections; however, while Grainger admired Melba's singing voice, he was not fond of her personality and they only appeared together professionally on two occasions, both fundraising concerts in America. Grainger wrote of Melba: "Myself, I never liked Melba at all . . . . But I loved her voice as truly as I disliked her person. Her voice always made me mindsee [*sic*] Australia's landscapes, her voice having some kind of a peach-fur-like nap on it that made me think of the deep blue that forms on any Australian hill if seen a mile or more off." Thérèse Radic, 146. Melba once

achieved international success after only a few years abroad through cunning social networking with Australians in London.[38] When he returned to tour Australia for the first time in 1903, he found Australian audiences to be generous in their praise of his musical performances and the local press to be scurrilous in their reporting of rumours about his personal life, just as Melba had experienced the previous year.[39] The fact that Australian journalists tended to focus on aspects of his personal life and eccentricities, rather than his music, infuriated Grainger; however, he was not the only creative artist who had to contend with such issues, as Eileen Dorum has observed:

> It was the fact that his very serious and important work as a composer was almost entirely ignored by the press in favour of such frivolous matters that disturbed him so much . . . . While he was well received he was always underrated by his fellow Australians, a characteristic too frequently met with in Australia."[40]

Despite feeling underappreciated in his homeland, Grainger projected an unashamed Australian identity and made a personal commitment to contribute to the development of musical life in Australia.[41] In many ways, he embodied all the traits of the typical Australian male. During his childhood in Melbourne he had acquired "all the extrovert characteristics of the Australian stereotype, a passion for football, cricket and above all

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wrote to Grainger: "I am so proud of you as an Australian." Letter to Grainger from Melba dated 23 August 1916, quoted in Eileen Dorum, *Percy Grainger: The man behind the music* (Melbourne: IC & EE Dorum, 1986), 105.

[38] For more information on the contacts Grainger made during his early years in London, see Anne-Marie Forbes, "Grainger in Edwardian London," *Australasian Music Research* 5 (2000): 1-16.

[39] An incident at a Melbourne train station, where Percy had unintentionally caused a delay because he had left his hat in a cab, caused a sensation in the media, with many reporters suggesting that the otherwise strictly-run transport system would not have waited for anyone less important than the visiting "star." From this time onwards, Australian reporters focused on Grainger's personal life and eccentricities. Eileen Dorum, 51, 57.

[40] Eileen Dorum, 51, 57. Grainger later admitted that he found the erroneous and exaggerated reporting style of the Australian press to be "painful." Eileen Dorum, 50. Malcolm Williamson was one of the many other high-profile Australian expatriates who shared a similar complaint about the Australian press; this will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

[41] Max Harris, 62. Although Grainger became an American citizen in June 1918 and remained resident there, he never gave up public claim to being an Australian and a veritable symbol of Australianism. He often referred to himself as "the first great composer of Australia" and had a dream to make Australia "shine bright." See Percy Grainger, letter to Balfour Gardiner, 3 May 1922, quoted in Malcolm Gillies and David Pear, eds., *The All-Round Man: Selected Letters of Percy Grainger, 1914-1961* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 55, 57.

else, marathon bush-walking,"[42] and in adulthood, he retained the characteristics that he would have claimed to be Australian: the ability to be forthright, honest and courageous in his attitude to the arts,[43] qualities he shared in common with numerous other Australian creative artists, including Malcolm Williamson. Grainger advocated the establishment of an Australian school of composition and considered many of his own compositions to be characteristically Australian.[44] His pianistic style also featured a "bracing, breezy and quite wonderful out-of-doors quality"[45] that critics such as Harold Schonberg identified as uniquely Australian, and Grainger encouraged young Australian pianists to retain similar elements of their local training that could later be identified as national traits.[46] Like Melba, Grainger made the long journey by sea to Australia regularly, particularly in later years when he was actively involved in the establishment of the Grainger Museum in Melbourne.

When it came to matters of music education, Grainger believed that music should be for everyone and that people of all social backgrounds should be given the opportunity to participate in music-making.[47] He identified this philosophy of inclusiveness as a product of his Australian heritage, claiming that because of the country's colonial history the Australian people are naturally suspicious of any form of hierarchy and are strong believers in democratic equality.[48] He viewed himself as "ultra-democratic, ultra Colonial Australian"[49] and devised so-called "elastic scorings" of his own and other composers' compositions to enable as many musicians as desired to participate in performances. He

[42] Max Harris, 59.
[43] Eileen Dorum, 48.
[44] Eileen Dorum, 175, 94. Grainger believed this Australian school of composition should be influenced by the music of neighbouring islands and characterised by the intrinsic nature of the isolated continent itself, as already evident in the works of Australian painters.
[45] Harold Schonberg quoted in Max Harris, 63.
[46] Eileen Dorum, 173.
[47] Eileen Dorum, 152.
[48] This was the reason he gave for turning down distinctions conferred upon him, such as an honorary doctorate offered by McGill University in 1945. Malcolm Gillies and David Pear, eds., 7.
[49] Percy Grainger to Robin Legge, 6 May 1917, quoted in Malcolm Gillies and David Pear, eds., 37.

abhorred musical styles that singled out elite performers, such as concertos, and believed that what the world, and particularly Australia, needed was fewer solo works and more large-scale chamber works.[50] However, like Melba, Grainger could also be outspoken and contradictory[51] and the values of democratic equality that he preached throughout his life were at odds with his long-held belief in the superiority of Nordic culture.[52]

Grainger's international success inspired a number of younger Australian musicians to aspire to similar heights, including the Tasmanian-born pianist Eileen Joyce (1908-1991). In fact, Grainger recognised elements of his own pianistic style in Joyce's playing, including a "relaxed, breezy, out-of-doors quality" that reflected her Australian heritage.[53] He advised her teachers against sending her "to a worn out celebrity to be needlessly 'Europeanised' or 'Continentalised'" and instead suggested that she study with "an Australian master in his prime so that the peculiarly Australian quality in her talent may be preserved."[54] The "Australian master" that Grainger recommended was Ernest Hutcheson (1871-1951), who was enjoying a distinguished career as a performer and teacher in New York. Ironically, it was the case that even if Joyce wanted to study with an Australian pianist, it would be necessary for her to travel abroad.[55]

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[50] Percy Grainger to Bernard Heinze, 3 December 1947, quoted in Malcolm Gillies and David Pear, eds., 7, 217. Grainger's inclusive philosophy also extended to an interest in world music and during the height of his compositional career (approximately 1904-10) he became an important collector of folk-songs, helping to contribute to the internationalisation of Western music. His interest in world music resulted from his extensive travels and was perhaps also related to his Australian background and the relative detachment he felt from the musical traditions of Western countries. Max Harris, 68.

[51] Eileen Dorum, viii.

[52] Grainger photographed the eyes of major composers, particularly those of the British school, in order to prove that blue-eyed musicians, like himself, were creatively superior and invented his own form of "blue-eyed English," a language which honoured the speech of pure Nordics by avoiding the use of words with Latin or Greek origins. He also disliked the genres of sonata and symphony and orchestral music in general, because of their "middle-class nature" and southern, German, origin. For more information, see Max Harris, 65-66. Grainger even viewed himself as flawed because of his Australian heritage, describing the Australian race as "careless, slovenly, mind-blind, lazy, ignorant, self-indulgent, unhealthy." Percy Grainger to Bernard Heinze, 3 December 1947, quoted in Malcolm Gillies and David Pear, eds., 6.

[53] Richard Davis, 41. Grainger once described Joyce as one of the most "transcendentally gifted" pianists he had ever known. Percy Grainger quoted in Richard Davis, *Eileen Joyce: A Portrait* (Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 2001), 37-38.

[54] Percy Grainger quoted in Richard Davis, 38.

[55] Richard Davis, 38.

Despite Grainger's high standing in Australia, his recommendation for Joyce was overlooked in favour of the opinion of a foreign musician, German pianist Wilhelm Backhaus. Backhaus toured Australia shortly after Grainger in 1926 and received greater acclaim purely on grounds of his nationality, rather than because of any superior artistic ability.[56] He suggested that Joyce travel to Leipzig to study at his *alma mater*, the Mendelssohn Conservatorium,[57] where Ernest Hutcheson had also received training, and it was simply presumed by Joyce's teachers, without much consideration, that a musician from Europe must know better than an Australian; even one as talented and internationally renowned as Grainger.[58]

The "cultural cringe" also impacted upon Joyce's career once she was in Europe. After three years training in Leipzig in the late 1920s, she decided to establish her artistic base in London, yet, she discovered soon after her arrival that conservative English musicians and audiences were prejudiced in favour of British artists and often behaved condescendingly towards those from "the colonies."[59] She realised that for a "colonial," or in her own words "an *Awe*stralian savage," to gain respect and employment in London, a good reputation would have to be earned via the provinces.[60] After several months of giving piano recitals in suburban town halls and appearing as a soloist with amateur orchestras, it seems that Joyce began to resent her status as an Australian.[61] In the late 1920s and early 1930s, she made several derogatory comments about her fellow Australians in order to

[56] Richard Davis, 40.
[57] He recommended she study with Carl Reinecke and Bruno Zwintscher.
[58] It is not particularly surprising that that the opinion of a foreign artist carried more weight than that of an Australian during this period, especially considering the snobbish preference in Australia for foreign artists at the time; it simply confirms that many Australians were under the influence of the "cultural cringe."
[59] This was a problem encountered by most expatriate musicians from Australia, New Zealand and Canada. The conductor Sir Thomas Beecham was one of those who held a low opinion of "colonial" musicians, particularly those from Australia, such as Melba, Joan Hammond, and later Joyce and Joan Sutherland. Richard Davis, 76-77.
[60] Eileen Joyce quoted in Richard Davis, 64. Post war, the British-Australian society network that Grainger had used was no longer as strong or influential.
[61] Her letters from this period convey a deep sense of frustration, loneliness and vulnerability. Richard Davis, 43, 47.

distinguish herself from them, just as Melba had done a quarter of a century earlier, and made public her belief that Australians were foolish for raising money to send young hopefuls such as herself to study with famous foreign teachers without knowing anything about their teaching practices or standards.[62] She also began to tell lies about her age and her childhood, fabricating a rags-to-riches fairytale in order to attract attention and publicity.

While such manipulation of the media may have been an effective marketing tool in foreign countries, the Australian press and public were outraged. When she returned to Australia in 1936 for an ABC tour, her family, the media and the public demanded to know why she had claimed that her father was an illiterate bushman who had raised her in the "wild west of Australia," a place where, according to Joyce, people starved to death, and why she had called Australians "foolish" when they had done so much to help launch her career.[63] Although Joyce should have known better than to try to "pull the wool over the eyes" of her fellow Australians, she was shocked by the bold manner of the Australian press and in an attempt to relinquish herself of all blame, she accused the British press of misquoting her. Consequently, it did not seem to matter much that her Australian recitals were received with great enthusiasm by audiences and critics, because upon returning to London she announced to reporters that the Australian tour had been an "awful nightmare," and that she was delighted to be "home" in England.[64] She told the British press and public exactly what they wanted to hear: Australians, she claimed, were not nearly as musical as the English.[65]

[62] Richard Davis, 59.
[63] Richard Davis, 78, 85.
[64] Like other expatriates who had achieved success abroad, Joyce discovered that her relationship with her homeland had changed during her decade-long absence. She was now a more sophisticated and privileged young woman who had little in common with those she had left behind.
[65] Richard Davis, 93.

Joyce's relationship with Australia improved in the 1960s when she was at the height of her professional career and was commonly referred to as "Britain's most popular pianist."[66] Australians took pride in the fact that she appeared in films, gave hundreds of charity concerts, attracted large audiences with her "marathon" concert programs and became something of a fashion icon, wearing glamorous gowns by famous designers for her recitals and assembling her own stylish outfits for other public outings.[67] While many critics viewed her flamboyant dresses as a "tasteless distraction" and accused her of committing "conduct unbecoming to a serious artist," they had to agree that through her performances in the concert hall, in film and television and through her recitals in hospitals, asylums, prisons and schools, Joyce had drawn people of all social backgrounds into the world of classical music and had helped to make "music for everyone."[68] The egalitarian ideals that she embraced in later years can be viewed as characteristically Australian and also had the added benefit of enhancing her public image and increasing her popularity with audiences worldwide.

Joyce maintained links with her homeland through her involvement in the Australian Musical Association,[69] her regular appearances at Australia House functions and through her friendships with other expatriate musicians and artists, including Arthur Boyd, Malcolm Williamson, Joan Sutherland, Geoffrey Parsons, Daisy Kennedy, Ronald Dowd and Peter Dawson.[70] In later life, she showed appreciation for Australia's support by

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[66] Richard Davis, 138.
[67] Her "marathon" concert programs usually consisted of two or more major works for piano and orchestra. Her playing and attitude towards these performances exhibited an element of athleticism that had previously been seen in the Australian pianists Percy Grainger and Frederick Septimus Kelly, and had become recognised as typically Australian.
[68] She gave charity concerts in South Africa to the physically handicapped, to suffers of cerebral palsy and to sufferers of tuberculosis. Richard Davis, 139-43.
[69] The AMA was co-founded by Don Banks and Margaret Sutherland. Based at Australia House, the association aimed to promote Australian compositions, commission new works, organise regular concerts featuring Australian music, composers and performers and attend to the needs of Australian performers and composers in London.
[70] Joyce also maintained friendships with the Australians Bernard Heinze, Rex Hobcroft and the Australia-based Frank Callaway.

making generous donations and declaring her loyalty publicly, stating during her final visit in 1989, "My heart has always been here with you in Australia."[71] Despite Joyce's ongoing effort to retain a sense of Australian identity, however, the criticism and lack of affection she received from Australia and Britain took a toll on her sense of national identity and left her feeling as though she did not belong in either country,[72] which was yet another characteristic of the expatriate experience.

The experiences shared by Melba, Grainger and Joyce had strong parallels to those of other Australian creative artists who relocated to Britain prior to the beginning of the Second World War. Most of these figures, including the artist Arthur Streeton, the writer and poet Henry Lawson, the musicians Frederick Septimus Kelly, Arthur Benjamin and William McKie, the dancer Robert Helpmann and the writers Alan Moorehead and Manning Clark, left Australia because of the limitations imposed upon them by artistic life in their home country. Nevertheless, these creative artists continued to maintain connections with Australia and many also looked to Australian subjects to inspire and give meaning to their work.

Arthur Streeton (1867-1947) left Australia for London in 1897 because he was anxious to achieve success overseas, but like many Australian artists in England, he found the experience difficult because he did not feel the same intuitive affinity with the English

[71] Eileen Joyce quoted in Richard Davis, 218. During return visits Joyce ingratiated herself with the Australian press by visiting hospitals, schools and convents and donating large sums of money to the University of Western Australia for the purchase of resources for piano students and to fund a studio in her name. She also attempted to follow in Melba's footsteps by publicising her plans to sponsor a talented young Australian pianist, a protégé, whom she could assist materially and musically to study in London (Melba had previously acted in a similar way with soprano Stella Power, also known as "the little Melba"). Although this never eventuated, Joyce's willingness to help her fellow Australians may have helped to abate rumours relating to her status as a "Tall Poppy."

[72] Joyce was desperate to be appointed a Dame, but never felt accepted by the British Establishment because she "was not and never would be one of them." Eileen Joyce quoted in Richard Davis, 207-8. In 1971 she was awarded an honorary doctorate of music from Cambridge University and from this time onwards insisted that she be addressed as "Doctor," which was perceived by some as rather pretentious.

landscape that had inspired his Australian paintings.[73] Despite the fact that he had few friends in London and suffered from homesickness and nostalgia for Australia, he remained abroad for over twenty years, eventually returning to settle in Australia in 1920 as a famous artist.[74] He maintained a strong sense of Australian identity throughout his time abroad and the paintings he created after he returned were widely regarded as embodying the essence of Australian national character; in particular, they were seen to capture the distinctive qualities of the Australian sunlight.[75]

Like Streeton, Henry Lawson (1867-1922) relied on Australia for creative inspiration, but felt disenchanted by the lack of opportunities for local writers, eventually uprooting his family and moving to London in the year 1900. He felt so strongly about expatriation that he later advised the younger generation of Australian writers to flee the country at any cost:

> My advice to any young Australian writer whose talents have been recognised, would be to go steerage, stow away, swim, and seek London, Yankeeland, or Timbuctoo – rather than stay in Australia till his genius turned to gall, or beer. Or, failing this – and still in the interests of human nature and literature – to study elementary anatomy, especially as applies to the cranium, and then shoot himself carefully with the aid of a looking-glass.[76]

Lawson returned to Australia after just two years abroad due to illness and financial problems, yet he was able to reflect on the benefits of having gained recognition as a writer in London. His observation that "Australian literature had to fight its way home to its own

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[73] "Artist Profiles: Arthur Streeton," *Australian War Memorial Website*; available from http://www.awm.gov.au/aboutus/artist_profiles/streeton.asp; Internet; 3 June 2008.
[74] Streeton returned to Australia several times during this period and while he was based in London, he sent his paintings home to be exhibited.
[75] "Artist Profiles: Arthur Streeton," *Australian War Memorial Website*.
[76] Henry Lawson, "Pursuing Literature in Australia," in B. Kiernan, ed., *Portable Australian Authors: Henry Lawson* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1976), 209-10.

country by way of England"[77] reflected the general lack of confidence in all things local that prevailed at the time. Lawson claimed to have "a heart full of love for Australia," a sentiment also conveyed in his creative output; however, he found the limitations of work in his homeland so frustrating that upon returning in 1902, he entered a personal and professional decline, drinking heavily and spending a significant amount of time in mental institutions and prison.[78]

The Australian musicians Frederick Septimus Kelly (1881-1916), Arthur Benjamin (1893-1960) and William McKie (1901-1984) also felt the need to gain artistic approval from England, but unlike most other expatriates, they each enjoyed considerable success in their homeland, as well as abroad. The pianist and composer F.S. Kelly was the son of a successful Sydney businessman and like many boys from wealthy Australian families, he was sent to England to receive a "proper" education.[79] His family connections appear to have helped him gain acceptance among London's aristocratic society and he soon found a niche with its music patrons, eventually taking on the role of patron himself in 1912 as the chairman of the London Classical Concert Society.[80] Kelly was also an avid sportsman; he won a gold medal as a rower in the 1908 Olympic Games, and like Percy Grainger and Eileen Joyce, his pianistic style was characterised by an athleticism that critics recognised as typically "Australian." He visited Australia a number of times, including to make his professional debut as a pianist in his hometown of Sydney in 1911. Kelly's diaries reveal a great appreciation of the Australian landscape and natural environment and show that, like

[77] Lawson continued, "Australian editors seemed not to have the courage to judge an Australian's work on its merits, nor to notice it until it had been reviewed by an English magazine, and then only, or barely so far as it had been noticed. The Australian writer until he got a 'London hearing' was sometimes grudgingly accepted as 'the Australian Burns,' 'the Australian Bret Harte,' etc. etc. and, later on, as 'the Australian Kipling.'" Henry Lawson, "The Sydney *Bulletin*," in B. Kiernan, ed., 355.
[78] Henry Lawson, "Pursuing Literature in Australia," in B. Kiernan, ed., 209.
[79] He attended Eton and Balliol.
[80] Thérèse Radic, "Race Against Time," *NLA News* vol. XV no. 1 (October 2004).

many Australians of the time, he viewed himself as a British-Australian, having come "from a new branch of an old culture."[81]

In the same year that Kelly gave his first recital in Sydney, 1911, the young composer-pianist Arthur Benjamin left Australia for Britain. After just eight years abroad, Benjamin had earned sufficient recognition and respect that he was asked to return to his homeland to take up the position of Professor of Pianoforte at the New South Wales Conservatorium (1919-21); however, he returned to London after only two years to take up a similar post at the Royal College of Music, where his pupils included Peggy Glanville-Hicks, Dorian Le Gallienne and Benjamin Britten. Although Arthur Benjamin returned to Australia only briefly, he maintained connections with his homeland through his life and embraced the role of promoting Australian composers abroad; for example, he organised concerts of Australian music at Australia House in London.

The organist and composer William McKie, who left Australia in 1919 to study at the Royal College of Music in London, was likewise a keen promoter of Australian music. McKie gained popularity in Australia after he returned for an extended period in the 1930s to fulfil the roles of Melbourne City Organist (1930-38) and Musical Advisor to the City Council. During this period he also took up the position of Musical Director at Geelong Grammar School, gave regular organ recitals and organised a number of festivals in Melbourne, including the Bach Festival of 1932 and the Bach-Elgar Festival of 1934. He returned to England in 1938 to take up the position of organist and instructor in music at Magdalen College, Oxford, and in 1941 was appointed organist and master of the choristers of Westminster Abbey, a post he held until his retirement in 1963.[82] During this

[81] Thérèse Radic, "Race Against Time." Kelly's diaries were published by Thérèse Radic and the National Library of Australia in under the title *Race Against Time* (2004).
[82] While he held the position from 1941, due to war service, he was unable to act in the role until 1946.

time he was noted for directing the music for the royal wedding in 1947, for which he composed the antiphon *We wait for Thy loving kindness* (1947), and for directing the music for the coronation of Elizabeth II in 1953, after which he received a knighthood (1953).[83] Despite his prominent position in the British Establishment, McKie remained an avid supporter of Australian music and was involved in the preparations for the Percy Grainger Festival of 1970.[84]

The Australian ballet dancer and choreographer Robert Helpmann (1909-1986) also felt obliged to travel overseas in order to gain professional experience and employment, leaving for London in 1933. Like other prominent expatriates, he projected an Australian identity in his persona and creative output, devising a number of ballet scenarios based on Australian themes, and he was outspoken when it came to issues concerning support for the arts in Australia. He attributed his forthright and outgoing nature to his Australian background and believed that he would not have achieved such a high degree of success had he been born in any other country.[85] Helpmann's expatriate experience will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

The author and journalist Alan Moorehead (1910-1983) echoed the sentiments expressed by Henry Lawson over three decades earlier when he admitted that he had left Australia in 1936 because he had felt oppressed in "a country where nothing happened."[86] Like Lawson, Moorehead had witnessed first-hand the snobbish preference in Australia for

[83] He later directed the music for the wedding of Princess Margaret (1960).
[84] Stanley Webb and Howard Hollis, "Sir William (Neil) McKie," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 2nd ed., vol. 15 (London: Macmillan, 2001), 505. McKie was president of the Royal College of Organists from 1957-58 and played at the commemorations of Handel and Purcell in 1959 and at the London premiere of Britten's *War Requiem* in 1962. He commissioned Vaughan Williams' anthem *O Taste and See* and later played at the composer's funeral.
[85] Robert Helpmann quoted in Meg Abbie Denton, ed., "An Artist of Infinite Range: An Interview with Robert Helpmann Recorded by Hazel de Berg in 1974," *BROLGA* (December 1996): 25.
[86] Alan Moorehead quoted in Ann Moyal, "Alan Moorehead," *NLA News* vol. XV no. 12 (September 2005).

everything English and realised that the only way to gain recognition and respect at home was to gain official approval from London:

> To go abroad – that was the thing. That was the way to make your name. To stay at home was to condemn yourself to non-entity. Success depended on an imprimatur from London . . . to be really someone in Australian eyes you first had to make your mark or win your degree on the other side of the world . . . . All things [in Australia] had to be a reflection of life in England . . . . Everything was imported. And because [Australians] believed that the imitation could never be as good as the original, they were afflicted always with a feeling of nostalgia, a yearning to go back to their lost homes on the other side of the world.[87]

Like other expatriates, Moorehead was outspoken and often made contradictory comments regarding his sense of national identity. Upon arriving in England, he felt that he "had come home" and that it was where he "wanted to be"[88] and yet, later in his career he stated that he had always remained an Australian "at heart."[89] He returned to Australia several times and noted great progress in the development of the Australian arts scene, confiding in an interview with Hazel de Berg in 1964 that if he was younger, he "would not hesitate for two minutes, I would return to this country and I would write here of Australian themes."[90] Moorehead also maintained friendships with other Australians in London, including the artist Sidney Nolan and the writer Manning Clark, who had left Melbourne in 1938 to study at Oxford and once there suffered the social snubs commonly experienced by "colonials" at that time.[91]

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[87] Alan Moorehead quoted in Geoffrey Serle, *The Creative Spirit in Australia: A Cultural History* (Melbourne: William Heinemann, 1987), 123.
[88] Alan Moorehead quoted in Geoffrey Serle, 123.
[89] Ann Moyal, "Alan Moorehead."
[90] Alan Moorehead quoted in Ann Moyal, "Alan Moorehead." Similarly, the Australian author Patrick White, who moved to England in 1932 and stayed away until the age of thirty-six, felt the need to return to Australia because "there persisted a longing to return to the scenes of childhood, which is after all, the purest well from which the creative artist draws." When White returned, however, he was engulfed by the "Great Australian Emptiness," but he decided to stay and work, partly because of the "possibility that one may be helping to people a barely inhabited country with a race possessed of understanding." Patrick White quoted in Geoffrey Serle, 125.
[91] Manning Clark (1915-1991) left Australia for England on 16 August 1938. According to Stephen Holt, Clark "did not appreciate being regarded as an inferior colonial but he had no ready answer to English condescension since he himself equated Australia with 'vulgarity, mediocrity and cosiness.'" Stephen Holt,

In the post-war years, increasing numbers of ambitious Australian creative artists and intellectuals began to view expatriation as the essential ingredient in the making of a successful career. The long journey to England was made by the wealthy relatively frequently, but for the majority of Australians it was still a luxury. The actor Leo McKern (1920-2002), who left on the *Orbita* in 1946, was one of the first creative artists to leave Australia following the end of World War II. A desire to visit the "mother country," England, had been instilled in him as a child, when he first heard Australians speaking of going "back home" to "The Old Country."[92] He recalled that many Australian-born of his generation referred to the whole United Kingdom as "England," by which they "meant no disrespect to Scotland, or to Wales or Northern Ireland for that matter; it was simply that we were very aware of this blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this ENGLAND and how pleasant it was to be in ENGLAND."[93] As McKern discovered, however, to be an Australian in England during the post-war years was "to experience a mixture of attitudes from the natives; condescension, tolerant amusement, resentment, great friendliness."[94] He realised that in order to be accepted and gain employment as an actor, he would need to lose his Australian accent, which was one of the few lingering signs of his "colonial" heritage.[95] After "endeavouring to obviate [his] vowel-flattening speech," McKern found that it was not long before he felt the clichés "meteoric rise" and "rocketing to fame" were inadequate descriptions of his journey to success. He later reflected: "I could scarcely

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A Short History of Manning Clark (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1999), 31. A sense of inferiority has been claimed to be the source for Clark's life-long dislike of the English. Miriam Dickson, "Clark and National Identity," *Manning Clark: Essays on his Place in History*, ed. Carl Bridge (Melbourne University Press 1994), 195.

[92] Leo McKern, *Just Resting* (London: Methuen, 1983), 65.

[93] Leo McKern, 65.

[94] Leo McKern, 66. McKern has admitted that during his early years abroad he possessed a "nomadic tendency," a sense of restlessness, like he could not quite find "home." Leo McKern, 26.

[95] He stated, "There is no doubt that I must have had an accent of considerable harshness to the English ear, and to the discerning listener probably still have . . . . But in those days the possibility of obtaining work with such a handicap was remote." Leo McKern, 68.

have done much better; my good fortune was extraordinary, it was dream-come-true time."[96]

It is interesting to note that McKern attributed his success to good fortune, rather than to hard work or talent, revealing a lack of self-confidence that was typical among Australian creative artists at the time. While he claimed the idea of returning home, defeated, was "unthinkable," his distrust of his own ability to be successful was reflected in the fact that he and his wife carefully preserved return fares to Australia "in case of utter failure."[97] When they eventually decided to return to Australia in the early 1970s and again in the 1980s, it was because of their desire to live in the country they considered "home," however, the difficulty of finding work proved insurmountable and both times they found themselves returning to England, where there were greater opportunities for employment in the film and television industries. During this period, McKern admitted that he felt "torn between the two countries," but when asked if he still considered himself Australian, he declared, "Yes . . . I've got the passport to prove it."[98]

Although widely considered to be Australian, the conductor, Charles Mackerras (1925-2010), was also known to question his national identity. While his parents were Australians and raised him in Australia from the age of three, he was actually born in New York State, USA. He completed training in piano, harmony and counterpoint at the New South Wales Conservatorium before moving to England in 1947 in the hope of finding full-time work in the music profession, an ambition that was almost impossible to fulfil in Australia at that time.[99] After several years abroad, he achieved great success and by the

[96] Leo McKern, 68, 78.
[97] Leo McKern, 74.
[98] Leo McKern quoted in Stephen Alomes, 255.
[99] Nancy Phelan, *Charles Mackerras: A Musicians' Musician* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1987), 38.

early 1980s he "had a foot on each side of the world,"[100] juggling commitments in both Britain and Australia. While he gained immense personal satisfaction from being in demand in both countries, he eventually found that maintaining careers on opposite sides of the globe was both exhausting and impractical.[101] Like other successful expatriates, he began to feel like an outsider in both countries he called "home" and inevitably had to face questions regarding his national identity. According to his biographer Nancy Phelan:

> For Charles the trouble was that he really did not know where he belonged, he had become *déraciné*, he was not even quite sure what he was. In England he was constantly labelled *Australian*, in certain circles his Mackerras directness and impatience with humbug were seen as rather crudely "colonial," yet in Australia he was often regarded as a "bloody Pommie." To the British his accent was almost "ocker" yet in his own country his voice was referred to as "plummy British." He was too cosmopolitan now to belong completely anywhere.[102]

Mackerras eventually decided to settle in England; his choice heavily influenced by the ongoing lack of support for the arts in Australia and by the "largely apathetic [Australian] public, a section of whom regarded music as an elitist luxury far less important than sport."[103] In 1995, over forty years after his own expatriation, Mackerras expressed the belief that Australians still need to go to Europe in order to achieve recognition in the field of music.[104]

Mackerras was followed to London in the early 1950s by a large number of Australian composers and musicians, many of whom achieved outstanding success. The year 1950

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[100] Nancy Phelan, 223.
[101] Mackerras' contract with the ABC required him to spend several months each year in Australia, usually during the European summer, meaning that he lived complete years in winter climates. In England, his absence for several months each year caused people to assume that he had returned to Sydney permanently and when he reappeared in London, he was asked how long he would be visiting for "this trip." Nancy Phelan, 227.
[102] Nancy Phelan, 223. Mackerras' direct, brash manner, combined with infectious enthusiasm and generosity, was seen as characteristically Australian and became known as "The Mackerras Manner" because they were qualities also found in his mother, Catherin MacLaurin. Nancy Phelan, 25, 246-47.
[103] Nancy Phelan, 242.
[104] Mackerras quoted in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 November 1995.

alone saw Malcolm Williamson, Don Banks, Barry Tuckwell, Geoffrey Parsons and Keith Humble leave Australia for Britain, followed shortly thereafter by Joan Sutherland in 1951 and David Lumsdaine in 1953. The trend of post-war expatriation also extended to the fields of fine arts and writing, with the artist Sidney Nolan leaving Australia for Britain in 1950, followed by the writer Jill Neville and poet Peter Porter in 1951, and the writers Murray Sayle and Charles Osborne, who left in 1952 and 1953 respectively. Like those who had gone before, their journeys were shaped by their individual ambitions, choices and personalities, but there were also strong parallels between their expatriate experiences.

Don Banks (1923-1980) achieved international success relatively soon after leaving Australia in 1950.[105] While this was mostly due to his creative skills and hard work, it was also a consequence of his eagerness to establish personal and professional connections with prominent figures in the international musical world. In Europe, he took composition lessons with Luigi Dallapiccola, Mátyás Seiber, Milton Babbitt and Luigi Nono and in 1954 his career was launched with the premiere of *Four Pieces for Orchestra* by the London Philharmonic Orchestra under Sir Adrian Boult.[106] Despite his success abroad, Banks never lost sight of his Australian identity and was a primary force behind the establishment of the Australian Musical Association in London in the early 1950s, which brought him into contact with many other Australian expatriate composers and musicians.[107] He returned to Australia several times, including to take up a Creative Arts Fellowship at the Australian National University in 1972.[108] During this visit, music critic

[105] Prior to leaving Australia, Banks studied at the University of Melbourne Conservatorium with Waldemar Seidel (piano) and A.E.H. Nickson and Dorian Le Gallienne (composition).
[106] Banks' Violin Sonata was also well received at the Darmstadt Summer School.
[107] It was through his involvement with the AMA that Banks came to know the Australian expatriate composer David Lumsdaine, with whom he organised a regular series of Composers' Weekends to be run under the auspices of the Society for the Promotion of New Music. Lumsdaine later dedicated *Kelly Ground* (1966) to Banks. Michael Hall, *Between Two Worlds: The Music of David Lumsdaine* (Todmorden: Arc Music, 2003), 62.
[108] Other distinguished expatriates who were granted this Fellowship include the artists Sidney Nolan (1965) and Arthur Boyd (1971), the writer Christine Stead (1969) and later, the composer Malcolm Williamson (1975).

Maria Prerauer announced in the *Sunday Australian* that the local music scene desperately needed a composer of Banks' calibre to remain resident in Australia and therefore, he should not be allowed to "escape again:"

> First-rate Australian composer-teachers don't grow on gum trees. We need this year's Australian National University Creative Fellow, Don Banks, more than Don Banks needs us . . . . The big question everyone should be asking is what, if anything, are we doing to keep this Melbourne-born 49-year-old here for good . . . . Don Banks – shame that in his country of birth it seems necessary to spell it out – is a most distinguished expatriate composer . . . . He is expatriate only because 20 years or so ago when he went abroad there was nothing – repeat nothing – for an Australian prophet to profit in his own country.[109]

Perhaps Banks was convinced that he did have a lot to contribute to musical life in Australia, because he decided to return the following year, 1973, to take up the position of Head of Composition and Electronic Music Studies at the Canberra School of Music. Soon after he settled in Canberra, he was elected Chairman of the Music Board of the Australia Council, for which his responsibilities included helping to "create a renaissance in the musical life in Australia."[110] This proved to be quite an undertaking and Banks became so consumed by administrative duties that he had little time left for composing. His life in Australia was also made difficult by some local figures who had built up entrenched positions and perceived the composer as an "empire builder" and a "threat."[111] It would not have been surprising therefore, if Banks had experienced second thoughts about his decision to return to Australia, especially considering that in order to repatriate, he had given up a successful international career as a composer and academic.[112]

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[109] Maria Prerauer, "Don Banks Must Not Escape Again," *Sunday Australian*, 28 May 1972.
[110] Michael Hall, 62.
[111] David Lumsdaine quoted in Stephen Alomes, 156.
[112] Prior to returning to Australia, Banks had held the position of Head of Music at Goldsmith's College, London.

Another of Banks' expatriate friends was the French horn player Barry Tuckwell, for whom Banks composed his *Horn Trio* (1962). Like other young Australians in England during the early 1950s, Tuckwell had to work his way to London via the provinces; he held positions within the Hallé in Manchester (1951-53), the Scottish National Orchestra (1953-54) and the Bournemouth orchestra (1954-55), before attaining the prestigious position of first horn in the London Symphony Orchestra in 1955. While this progression was fairly common due to the prevailing British tendency to employ local artists over those from the colonies, as Eileen Joyce had previously experienced, Tuckwell was disappointed by the realisation that he had "left [in Sydney] an orchestra better than the [provincial ones he] was playing in."[113] His experience abroad was also typical in that he felt the weight of expatriation bear heavily upon his sense of national identity:

> I was very nostalgic. I always have been and I think the thing that saddens me is that I know now that I'm probably not enough of an Australian because I haven't lived there, but I still feel it. It is like a rat which is taken away from the pack and they clean it up, so it doesn't smell like a rat and it goes back to the pack and they attack it because it doesn't smell right, they don't recognise it. Whereas that rat smells everybody and says "Here guys, I am home." And I have been away for long enough for people there [in Australia] to think of me as just somebody who is not Australian anymore. In the same way that I will never ever be totally part of England because I wasn't born here; it's just a fact of life. So in a sense I have lost both.[114]

The sense of isolation and loss of identification with a specific country or place that one could call "home" was particularly common among expatriate performers, who were less likely to be able to express their feelings about their national identity through their creative output than expatriate composers, artists or writers. The expatriate accompanist Geoffrey Parsons (1929-1995) maintained a connection with Australia by touring the country thirty-

[113] Charles Mackerras quoted in Stephen Alomes, 69.
[114] Barry Tuckwell quoted in Stephen Alomes, 260.

one times between 1957 and 1993, bringing with him some of the world's most celebrated singers.[115] Likewise, the expatriate composer, pianist, conductor and music educator Keith Humble (1927-1995) made numerous visits to Australia before returning permanently in 1966 to take up the position of Senior Lecturer at the Melbourne Conservatorium.[116] Humble, like Don Banks, made a significant contribution to the development of Australian music, particularly in the field of music education and through the promotion of contemporary Australian composers and their music.[117]

Other expatriate creative artists returned to Australia less frequently and found that geographical distance from the country of their birth gave them greater perspective when it came to the issue of national identity and the expression of it in their creative work. This was certainly the case for Malcolm Williamson, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 3, and for the artist Sidney Nolan, whose development of strong iconographic symbols resulted because of "the distance, psychological and physical, from their source, Australia."[118] While Nolan may not have returned to Australia regularly, he maintained connections with his homeland through other avenues, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5 in the context of his contribution to the Australian ballet *The Display*.

Two of Nolan's closest friends in London were the Australian soprano Joan Sutherland (1926-2010) and her husband, conductor Richard Bonynge (b.1930).[119] Sutherland and Bonynge met at the NSW Conservatorium in the late 1940s and again in London in the

[115] Ian Holtham, "Geoffrey Parsons," *The Oxford Companion to Australian Music,* ed. Warren Bebbington (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1997), 446. Parson's first big break came accompanying fellow Australian expatriate Peter Dawson (baritone).
[116] At the Melbourne Conservatorium, Humble established the Electronic Music Studio at the Grainger Centre, re–established the Opera School and formed the Society for the Private Performance of New Music.
[117] In 1974 Humble was appointed Foundation Professor at La Trobe University and in 1975 he founded the Australian Contemporary Music Ensemble with the hope that it would encourage the composition and performance of new Australian works. Humble performed with the group and was its musical director until 1978.
[118] Bruce Bennett, *Spirit in Exile: Peter Porter and His Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 90.
[119] Nolan and Sutherland worked together when Nolan was commissioned to produce the designs for *Il Trovatore* for the Sydney Opera House.

early 1950s, when they were both students at the Royal College of Music.[120] Sutherland left Australia in 1951 armed with a letter of introduction from Goossens and with one ambition – to sing at Covent Garden.[121] It was not long before she achieved this goal and began to receive a considerable amount of attention from the press. Within just a few years of her Covent Garden debut, she was hailed "La Stupenda" and "The Voice of the Century" and was in demand all over the world, including the major opera houses of Paris, Milan, Vienna and New York.

Although Sutherland had felt awkward about her Australian accent upon her arrival in London, believing it was something that needed to be erased, the press, particularly French journalists, made many references to her Australian character in their reports, implying that her foreign origin added a certain exoticism to her performances.[122] While Sutherland retained a proud Australian identity throughout her career and returned to her homeland many times, it is obvious from her comments in interviews and in her autobiography, *A Prima Donna's Progress*, that her views towards Australia were affected by her relationship with the local press.

The Australian press reported Sutherland's rise to international fame with much pride during the late 1950s and early 1960s. During this period, the well-publicised construction of the Sydney Opera House, with its striking architectural design, drew public attention towards opera in general and brought the careers of Australia's opera singers into the

[120] Sutherland performed at Bonynge's farewell concert shortly before he left Australia and at this time, she promised herself that she would follow in his footsteps soon. She left Australia with her mother on board the *Maloja*, arriving in London in August 1951. As a student at the NSW Conservatorium, Bonynge had studied piano with Lindley Evans, who had been Nellie Melba's last accompanist. This training equipped him well for his later work with Sutherland. The pair married in 1954.

[121] Joan Sutherland, *A Prima Donna's Progress: The Autobiography of Joan Sutherland* (Sydney: Random House, 1997), 18. The letter from Goossens read, "The bearer of this letter has a magnificent dramatic soprano voice and has done excellent work here in concert and operatic appearances. Her voice is in the true 'Austral' tradition . . . . Her departure for Europe will be a great loss for Australia, for such grand natural voices as hers are all too scarce nowadays." Brian Adams, *La Stupenda* (Melbourne: Hutchinson, 1980), 52.

[122] Brian Adams, 47, 74, 118.

spotlight. The cancellation of what was to be Sutherland's first tour of Australia with the ABC in 1962 was met with great disappointment in her homeland and marked a turning point in the way the Australian press reported information about her professional and personal life.[123] The tour had been cancelled because Sutherland had aggravated a pre-existing spinal injury and had been advised by doctors to avoid long-distance travel; however, her willingness to participate in a new production of Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* at La Scala (which required her to mount a real horse on stage) at the time she should have been in Australia, caused the Australian press and public to accuse her of being a "traitor" for choosing Europe over Australia once again.[124]

All things considered, it is not surprising that Sutherland was apprehensive about how she would be received when she made her first, belated, tour of Australia in 1965. In the months leading up to the tour, she again received a significant amount of media attention, with Australian papers and magazines running story after story about her career and including all the details about her forthcoming performances.[125] When she arrived in Sydney, she was mobbed by the public and "dozens of press, radio and TV reporters" and when journalists insisted on following and reporting her every move during her visit, she grew increasingly agitated and angry, describing their behaviour as "outrageous and undisciplined."[126] When she later began to refuse interviews and photographs, the press became even more aggressive, with some reporters launching written attacks on her

[123] In the lead up to the proposed tour, Sutherland announced that she could not wait to visit Australia, a country so "beautiful" that "many of us do not appreciate until we leave it." Sutherland quoted in Brian Adams, 137. This quotation was printed in the Australian magazine *Our Women* (October-December 1961).
[124] Brian Adams, 154.
[125] The *Australian Women's Weekly*, among others, published historical information about each opera to be performed including an act-by-act synopsis of each plot and a pronunciation guide (for example, "Loo-CHEE-ah dee LAHM-maw-mohr" for *Lucia di Lammermoor*). Brian Adams, 189-90.
[126] "Enter Joan Sutherland: The Mad Scene, 12 Minutes of Panic," *The Sun*, 17 June 1965, 1. Bonynge described the Australian media contingency as a "herd of orang-outangs." Brian Adams, 189, 198.

character.[127] Sutherland retaliated to this personal criticism, declaring that she had never been treated so "downright rudely" by reporters anywhere else in the world.[128] Fortunately for Sutherland, the Australian critics who reviewed her performances during the tour were almost always fair and generous in their praise, as were her fans.[129] The opening night of Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* in Melbourne received twenty curtain calls and according to Sutherland, it was "as great musically and greater personally than any of [her] performances at Covent Garden, the Met or La Scala, because it was coming home after fourteen years."[130] As this statement implies, Sutherland continued to call Australia "home," in spite of her choice to live abroad and the criticism she had received from her fellow countrymen and women.

Sutherland returned to Australia more frequently after she and Bonynge acquired an apartment in Sydney in the mid-1970s.[131] By this time, the Australian Opera had established itself as a full-time permanent company based at the newly-opened Sydney Opera House[132] and in 1976, Bonynge was appointed its Musical Director, which tightened the couple's links to Australia even more. Like many other Australian expatriates,

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[127] For example, under the headline "Joan Blows Up!," a reporter for the *Sunday Mirror* accused her of being a "Tall Poppy," while a writer for *The Australian* expressed resentment not only at her behaviour, but at the length of time she had stayed away, declaring: "Joan Sutherland must control her petulance . . . . She must learn to handle with dignity and quell with charm the little imbroglios that an excited Press and public create when she appears . . . . It is inexcusable that she should reprove our newsmen and cameramen . . . who are interested in photographing and questioning the world's leading opera singer for the benefit of her Australian admirers who may not see her again for another fifteen years . . . ." Brian Adams, 198, 203-4.

[128] This was a similar argument to that expressed by numerous other expatriates, including Malcolm Williamson, as will be addressed in Chapter 3.

[129] Following her performance in *Semiramide* a critic from *The Australian* reported: "Her performance was the most staggering show of singing heard in Australia for decades . . . . She put her voice through acrobatics that could hardly be imagined, let alone thought possible." Brian Adams, 195.

[130] Sutherland quoted in Brian Adams, 192. The closing night in Melbourne was also memorable for Sutherland, who gave an encore performance of "Home, Sweet Home" in the tradition of Melba, with Bonynge accompanying her on piano. The applause lasted for "a full forty minutes." Joan Sutherland, 188.

[131] Brian Adams, 222.

[132] The Opera House, which was officially opened in 1973, was one realisation of Goossens' dream to keep local artists, like Sutherland, in Australia: "[It is] high time Australia took steps to keep [Sutherland's] talent at home . . . . If we had a fine national opera house with performances the year round and adequate financial rewards for our singers, they would think twice before leaving the country." Eugene Goossens quoted in Joan Sutherland, 23.

Sutherland believed music should be "for everybody"[133] and during return visits she embraced the opportunity to educate the younger generation of Australian singers, advising them to foster unique, individual styles. Sutherland also maintained connections with her homeland by working and associating with other Australians living in London, such as Barry Tuckwell, Charles Mackerras, Sidney Nolan, Leo McKern and of course her husband, Richard Bonynge.[134]

The writer Jill Neville (1932-1997), who left Australia the same year as Sutherland (1951), also found the expatriate journey less lonely when shared with other Australians in similar situations. On the long sea voyage to England, she met the young poet Peter Porter and once in London, she befriended the composer David Lumsdaine and the writer Murray Sayle. Like most expatriates, Neville continued to craft connections with her homeland throughout her life. Her creative output reveals a mind preoccupied by expatriation, which she viewed as a rite of passage for all ambitious Australian creative artists.[135] She observed that with each ocean-liner that departed from Australian shores, hundreds of paper streamers were severed like "umbilical cords" and the passengers on board were "damning [themselves] forever to be cut in half."[136] Neville experienced this first hand; she often felt torn between her professional life in Britain and her "physical self and more than physical, idealistic spiritual self," which she believed was still in Australia.[137] Simultaneously, she knew how difficult it would be to return permanently, especially after

[133] Sutherland stated: "I don't think [music is] for the socially elite at all. I think Mozart wrote for the people, although he was a court composer; Verdi was very close to the people and wrote about them. I think [opera] is the greatest art form because in it you have the best of everything – great dramas set to music, sets, costumes, ballet and singing – it's a marvellous blending of so many different components. I think it's for everybody . . . ." Joan Sutherland quoted in Brian Adams, 265.
[134] Sutherland and McKern worked together on the film *Dad and Dave On Our Selection* (1995). She also participated in the Bicentennial Celebration at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, attended by Princess Alexandra and featuring predominantly Australian artists, including Barry Tuckwell, Charles Mackerras, Douglas Gamley, Susanne Kessler, Malcolm Donnelly and "Dame Edna Everage."
[135] Neville's 1966 novel *Fall-Girl* is about the experience of an Australian expatriate in London.
[136] Jill Neville quoted in Stephen Alomes, 6, 107.
[137] Neville left Australia because she believed "there really wouldn't have been anything for me in the Fifties if I'd stayed in Sydney." Jill Neville quoted in Stephen Alomes, 100.

hearing stories about the treatment of other expatriates during return visits. When she attempted to return herself in the late 1970s, after more than twenty-five years abroad, she felt that many Australians viewed her as a traitor because she had "preferred somewhere else to [her] native land." She observed:

> You have to get punished if you go away and leave Australia . . . . Instead of staying at home and helping to create a new culture you went away and partook of the old culture. Sometimes I wonder would they be more angry with one if one hadn't gone back to England, which is the rather loathed mother country. If one had gone away and lived in Greece or something . . . .[138]

Exile is also a recurring theme in the writing of Neville's friend, the expatriate poet Peter Porter (b. 1929). After Porter left Australia in 1951, his poetic output began to reflect a feeling of separation not only from Australia, but from any sense of "home." This is evident in the final lines of the poem "In the New World Happiness is Allowed" from the collection *The Cost of Seriousness* (1978):

> Depression long persisted in
> becomes despair. Forgive me, friends and relatives,
> for this unhappiness, I was away from home.[139]

While the poet's personal confession of being away from home may be autobiographically true, as an explanation it is ironically insufficient because "home" remains something of a mirage that is continually sought by Porter in his poetry, but is always out of reach.[140] As an Australian in London, Porter felt like a "provincial" and an "outsider" and never viewed himself as a member of any London establishment, nor was he perceived as such by critics. Instead, he recognised in himself the Australian tendency to "suspect the motives and

[138] Jill Neville quoted in Stephen Alomes, 111.
[139] Peter Porter quoted in Bruce Bennett, 175.
[140] Bruce Bennett, 176.

ability of those who put on special airs and graces."[141] Like other Australian expatriate creative artists, he had a democratic, egalitarian outlook and believed that all forms of art should be accessible to all who can learn to appreciate them. Many Australians, however, perceived Porter's fascination with the "high" arts as arrogant and pretentious and labelled him a "culture vulture," a term applied to those with an excessive interest in arts such as opera, painting and poetry.[142]

In the 1970s and 1980s, Porter returned to Australia several times and reconnected with the country of his birth through his writing. He produced a number of poems based on Australian themes, notably "An Australian Garden," "The Blazing Birds" and "Woop Woop," as well as two pieces concerning the plight of Australia's indigenous population, "Cities of Light" and "Next to Nothing." After more than twenty years abroad, he was now able to see "the real land [Australia] and it was as if a mask had fallen from a handsome face."[143] His focus on Australian themes gained approval from many critics, including Les Murray, who was impressed by "the sheer number of Australian passages, inflections, references and counterpointings, as well as the number of poems actually set in this country."[144] During the same period, Porter also collaborated with a number of well-known Australians, including the painter Arthur Boyd,[145] and the composers David Lumsdaine, Christopher Whelen, Nicholas Maw, Don Banks, George Newson, Ronald

[141] Porter continued: "I'm an old-fashioned Australian . . . I believe that a writer should be a real democrat, that he should behave in the same way as other men in most public places and you certainly shouldn't know he's a writer from his demeanour." Peter Porter quoted in Bruce Bennett, 103.
[142] Bruce Bennett, 168.
[143] Peter Porter quoted in Stephen Alomes, 114. Porter returned to Australia for the first time in 1974. In the 1980s he accepted the appointments of writer-in-residence at the universities of Melbourne (1983) and Western Australia (1987) and returned almost annually, accepting the Gold Medal of the Australian Literature Society in 1990.
[144] Les Murray quoted in Bruce Bennett, 199. Les Murray had previously criticised Porter for "betraying" his homeland in favour of London. Porter's rediscovery of Australia coincided with a renewed interest in his work in his homeland and in Britain. Previously, most Australians had been ignorant of the importance of his work in Britain, just as British readers had little knowledge of Porter's Australian heritage. In part, this had been due to the national revival of the arts in Australia during this period and a resistance towards outside influences, particularly from those who had "made it" overseas. Bruce Bennett, xii.
[145] Porter and Boyd collaborated on several books, including *Jonah* (1973), *The Lady and the Unicorn* (1975), *Narcissus* (1984) and *Mars* (1988). Paintings by Boyd appear on the cover of the second edition of Porter's *Collected Poems* (1986) and on *A Porter Selected* (1989).

Senator and Geoffrey Burgon, which strengthened his connections with Australia even further.[146]

Another of Porter's associates in England was the Australian writer and journalist Murray Sayle (b. 1926), who was an outspoken commentator on issues relating to Australia's evolving relationship with Britain. Sayle left Australia for London in 1952 because he "felt the Australian emptiness closing in on [him] and [he] had to get out."[147] He had found it easy to "join a mass movement," noting that on his vessel alone, the R.M.S. *Otranto*, there were a couple of young architects, two or three dentists, a "gaggle" of typists, academics, advertising men, schoolteachers, nurses, pianists, poets and painters, all making the "customary pilgrimage to London."[148] He believed that "like all migrants, we were looking for something we couldn't find at home, and we weren't coming back without it."[149] Sayle found what he was looking for after just a few years in London, when he was appointed as a foreign correspondent for the *Sunday Times*, however, he also experienced the sense of inferiority felt by many Australians abroad, commenting on one occasion:

> Australians themselves, unprompted, feel that they belong to an absurd nationality . . . . Standing on their heads, in a lunar landscape hopping with improbable animals, Australians have inverted the British society they inherited. Politeness has become bluntness, even boorishness . . . . There are contradictions in our society and our personality which we have not been able to resolve, and most of them stem from our British heritage and the way in which we have adapted it . . . all our history, effectively, has been Britain: old slights, old grudges which we all hold,

[146] Bruce Bennett, 132. Porter and Lumsdaine were introduced by a mutual friend, Murray Sayle, and later the pair collaborated on several cantatas. Porter was also good friends with the Australian expatriate Clive James, to whom he dedicated the poem "Spiderwise," a response to Porter's sense of exile from Australia.
[147] Murray Sayle, "As Far As You Can Go," *Alienation*, ed. Timothy O'Keeffe (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1960): 96-97.
[148] Murray Sayle, 96-97. Sayle left from his birthplace, Sydney, on 8 August 1952.
[149] Murray Sayle, 96-97. It is interesting to note that he used the word "migrant," which implies a sense of permanence, rather than the term "expatriate," which suggests a continuing relationship with the country of birth.

> unacknowledged perhaps, against our parents, which no parent ever guesses, and underneath the reproaching and undeniable fact of blood relationship.[150]

The writer Charles Osborne (b.1927), who left Australia in 1953, was just as outspoken as Murray Sayle when it came to the topic of expatriation. In what would become a recurring metaphor used by expatriates, Osborne claimed that his life in Australia prior to expatriation had been "a preview of life" and that he had travelled "to Europe to be born . . . Australia had been a sort of womb."[151] He had felt compelled to go to a place where he could witness "operas, *real* plays, *real* operettas for that matter and to look at paintings and baroque churches, and even see some *real* modern architecture."[152] Not surprisingly, Osborne's preference for the high art forms of the "Old World" made him a target for the "Tall Poppy Syndrome" in Australia.[153]

Likewise, the composer David Lumsdaine (b. 1931) left Australia in 1953 because he felt restricted by a lack of opportunities for creative and professional development in his homeland.[154] As a student at the NSW Conservatorium, he had observed that there were no full-time professional composers of serious music:

> The person who was closest to being a professional was John Antill, the composer of *Corroboree*, but he worked for the Australian Broadcasting Commission and had to compose at weekends and on holidays . . . . He made it quite clear [to me] that although he may have been a professional in terms of his techniques, he could

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[150] Murray Sayle, 95-96. Sayle reported on the Vietnam War, the Cuban revolution and conflicts in the Middle East, Northern Ireland and the Indian subcontinent. He published a novel about journalism entitled *The Crooked Sixpence* (1960) and in 1973 he was appointed Asian Editor for Newsweek International. From this time forward he lived in Japan, where he reported local stories to leading newspapers in Australia, Britain, America and Hong Kong.

[151] Charles Osborne quoted in Stephen Alomes, 103.

[152] Stephen Alomes, 103.

[153] In Osborne's own words, he was "not a modest person" and he viewed his "detestation of mediocrity [as] the natural obverse of [his] admiration of excellence." Charles Osborne quoted in Stephen Alomes, 102. Osborne became friends with Sidney Nolan and Barry Humphries in London.

[154] According to Michael Hall, Lumsdaine viewed Australia as a musical backwater. Michael Hall, *Between Two Worlds: The Music of David Lumsdaine* (Todmorden: Arc Music, 2003), 22. See also Andrew Ford, *Composer to Composer: Conversations About Contemporary Music* (London: Quartet Books, 1993), 76.

> never hope to make his living as a composer; in this sense, he would always be an amateur . . . .[155]

Lumsdaine also lacked confidence in the training he had received in Australia and felt that he needed to leave in order to gain more professional tuition.[156] Following the advice of Professor Donald Peart, Lumsdaine travelled abroad to take lessons with Mátyás Seiber, who was regarded as one of the best composition teachers in Britain at that time.[157] Deeply self-conscious of his "colonial" works, Lumsdaine disowned or destroyed all the music he had composed prior to leaving Australia, keeping only a short piece that was written during the voyage to England.[158] Once in London, he made contact with other Australians including Murray Sayle, who he had known from his University days, and Peter Porter, with whom he later collaborated on a number of cantatas.[159] Ironically, the majority of performers and fellow composers with whom Lumsdaine formed alliances in London were themselves Australian expatriates, including Barry Tuckwell, Doug Whittaker and the composer Don Banks.[160]

Lumsdaine remained in the UK throughout his career, working freelance as a composer, conductor, teacher, music editor and academic and in later years visited Australia regularly to attend performances of his works and to conduct workshops with young composers. His compositions from the mid-1960s onwards demonstrate an increasing fascination with the history and landscape of Australia, such as *Kelly Ground* (1966) for solo piano, *Kangaroo Hunt* (1971), *Aria for Edward John Eyre* (1972) for voices, electronics and instruments

[155] David Lumsdaine quoted in Michael Hall, 22-23.
[156] Michael Hall, 22-23.
[157] Michael Hall, 23.
[158] Michael Hall, 16.
[159] In the 1950s, Lumsdaine and Porter had planned to collaborate on an opera about Ned Kelly, but later abandoned the project. While Lumsdaine had been quite obsessed with the subject matter, Porter was less enthusiastic because he believed the result would be too "brashly" Australian, too "ocker." Michael Hall, 26.
[160] Together, Banks and Lumsdaine pioneered the Young Composers' Schools in Australia, as well as the Society for the Promotion of New Music Composer's Weekends mentioned previously.

and *Salvation Creek with Eagle* (1974) for chamber orchestra.[161] A number of works also incorporate quotations of Australian birdsong, such as *Cambewarra* (1980) for piano and *Mandala V* (1988) for orchestra.

Despite his preoccupation with Australia, Lumsdaine has never seriously considered returning to the country of his birth to live.[162] Simultaneously, however, he has never felt as though he really "belongs" in England.[163] In the early 1990s, after forty years in London, he commented:

> I have no association any longer with the music or social world in England. I am associated with small groups of friends but otherwise I could be in a monastery composing.[164]

Self-exile had left Lumsdaine feeling "free of so many identifications," enabling him, he believed, to hear music "from the outside . . . [because he was] equally removed from the natural world and from Western European music and the music of other cultures."[165] In other words, the expatriate experience had brought Lumsdaine personal and artistic freedom.

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[161] *Kelly Ground* is dedicated to Don Banks. Lumsdaine also composed a short piano piece entitled *An Aria for Kelly* in the early 1960s. Most of the commissions Lumsdaine received during the 1980s and 1990s came from Australian ensembles. He composed *Bagatelles* (1985) for the Australia Ensemble, *Empty Sky, Mootwingee* for Flederman (1986), *A Dance and a Hymn for Alexander Maconochie, Norfolk Island, May 25 1840* (1988) for Elision and *Kali Dances* (1994) for Sydney Alpha. Considering the number of years Lumsdaine has lived in England, it is perhaps surprising that only a few works carry titles with references to Britain or Europe.

[162] In 1992, Lumsdaine admitted: "I don't know why [I haven't returned to Australia to live]…There must be something which tells me that I could be too comfortable in Australia; it always feels right here [in Australia], in a way that it never does anywhere else, no matter how much I enjoy other places. But maybe self-exile is a way of sharpening the imagination for some of us." David Lumsdaine quoted in Andrew Ford, 76. The idea that self-exile could give greater perspective was also expressed by other expatriates, including Malcolm Williamson and Sidney Nolan, as mentioned earlier in this chapter.

[163] Michael Hall, 16. Lumsdaine has also been labelled an outsider by critics. For example, *The Times*' Paul Griffiths observed: "[Lumsdaine is] such a loner . . . whose works, scarce and wonderful and in many ways quite unlike each other, have come out of a solitary journey." Paul Griffiths quoted in "David Lumsdaine," *University of York Music Press Website;* available from http://www.uymp.co.uk/composers/lumsdaine1.htm; Internet; accessed 5/4/08.

[164] David Lumsdaine quoted in Stephen Alomes, 156.

[165] David Lumsdaine quoted in Stephen Alomes, 143.

The belief that Australia was "on the outer rim of nowhere and that the epicentre of life – culturally, at least – was most definitely Atlantic"[166] still existed in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The last generation of Australian creative artists that considered expatriation compulsory included the actor/comedian Barry Humphries and the writers David Malouf, Clive James, Germaine Greer and Robert Hughes.[167] All five of these figures spoke openly about their experiences as expatriates and their evolving relationships with Australia, despite the fact that their willingness to comment on such issues attracted scorn from critics and the public.

Barry Humphries (b.1934) knew that he would be "going to England" from a very young age.[168] As a student at Melbourne Church of England Grammar School, he was reminded of Australia's colonial history continuously and he soon learned that if he wanted to succeed on the world stage, he would need to travel to the centre of the theatrical world, London.[169] Humphries arrived there in 1959 and after only five years, had earned widespread success through his unique one-man shows. The characters he devised for his early shows were based on the lives of the "Kangaroo Valley" generation of Australian expatriates living in Earls Court, London, and included "Buster Thompson," a wealthy young bloke pub-crawling his way through Europe; "Lantana Holman," an Australian art dealer who loathed her fellow compatriots and "Eric Ballarate," a young tenor trying to "make it" at Covent Garden.[170] While none of these invented characters became well

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[166] Christine Wallace, *Greer: Untamed Shrew* (Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 1997), 128.
[167] After this time, the convenience and decreasing cost of travel by air made it increasingly possible for Australians to travel regularly, rather than expatriate permanently.
[168] Barry Humphries quoted in Peter Coleman, *The Real Barry Humphries* (London: Robson Books, 1990), 19.
[169] The school magazine declared: "Let us be a little louder in proclaiming that we are British subjects, living in the British Empire, under the British flag." Peter Coleman, 22. Humphries once declared, "'Australia-based' means a person of diminished aspiration who has been successfully bribed with grants and awards to resist the lure of expatriation." Barry Humphries quoted in Peter Coleman, 126. According to Peter Coleman, "mere self-respect alone would have compelled Barry Humphries to emigration." Peter Coleman, 55-56.
[170] Peter Coleman, 60-61. As Stephen Alomes has observed, Humphries "emphatically defined himself as an expatriate" through these characters. Stephen Alomes, 219.

known, their stories reflected Humphries' early experience as an Australian expatriate in London and later culminated in the adventures of another one of his characters, "Barry (Bazza) McKenzie."

"Bazza McKenzie" was the first Humphries character to become popular with English audiences, however, audiences and critics in Australia were not impressed by what they perceived as an expatriate's attempt to damage his country's reputation abroad.[171] Humphries recalled:

> It was not so much that [Australian audiences and critics] were affronted by the portrayal of Australians as vulgar and incontinent (McKenzie vomited and urinated copiously throughout the film), but that audiences in that intimidating place called "Overseas" might judge us all by Barry. By the early seventies . . . Australia's international image became a matter of national concern. We wanted to be perceived as a rather refined and cultivated nation with superlative skills in sport, armed conflict and even macramé.[172]

It was not until Humphries' 1965 tour of Australia, when he introduced the charming characters "Sandy Stone" and "Edna Everage," that he had a breakthrough with Australian audiences and critics. "Edna Everage" (later "Dame Edna Everage") was particularly popular and became notorious for her ridicule of public figures and celebrities. Australians soon found that they were able to laugh at themselves, as noted by a critic from the *Herald*, who announced "it will be surprising if Melbourne can resist going along to see itself."[173] Four years later, however, Humphries was creating controversy again with his performances of *Just a Show* (1969). While Australian critics were unanimous in their

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[171] Peter Coleman, 87, 92. There were two films made about this character, *The Adventures of Barry McKenzie* (1972) and *Barry McKenzie Holds His Own* (1974), which were dismissed by Australian critics as "vulgar rubbish" and the "worst Australian Film[s] ever made."

[172] Barry Humphries, *My Life as Me: A Memoir* (Melbourne: Penguin Books, 2002), 216. Likewise, the slobbering, foul-mouthed and badly-dressed Australian character "Sir Les Patterson" was successful with London audiences before gaining the attention of the Australian public. Australia's international image has continued to remain a matter of national concern; for example, Paul Hogan and the late "crocodile hunter" Steve Irwin have both been judged by Australian critics and the public for being too "ocker."

[173] Peter Coleman, 54.

approval of the show initially, their opinions changed after they heard the response of their British counterparts.[174] According to London reviewers, *Just a Show* was a "sustained hymn of hatred of [Humphries'] native Australia," in which he depicted the country as a "land of louts, drunks, philistines, bigots, bores and bums."[175] Although Humphries had included slides encouraging the English to "Emigrate Now!," one critic announced, "nothing I have ever seen about Australia makes me feel less inclined to do so."[176]

Humphries had painted himself as the "unlovable type of Commonwealth entertainer who specialises in flattering the metropolitan public by sneering at the habits of his own country" and from this time forward, impugning his patriotism became something of a "blood sport" among critics everywhere.[177] Although Humphries has rarely responded to criticism,[178] he has been known to enjoy stirring up controversy and it seems that he has grown tired of trying to please or impress Australian critics. In his 2002 biography, *My Life as Me: A Memoir*, Humphries gives an example of a time when he felt he could not win approval or acceptance from the Australian press regardless of what he said or did:

> I remember the first time I nervously confronted a large group of Sydney journalists . . . one patently hostile journalist got down to the nitty-gritty. "How long are you gonna be in Australia this time, Baz?" he inquired with a disarming smile. "Just a few months for this tour," I replied, "I've had a nice offer from the BBC to do a bit of television." "Yeah, that figures," he rejoined, "I suppose your old mates seem a bit boring now after some of the fancy types you've been hobnobbing with overseas." Suitably rebuked, I thought I had better change my tune for the next interviewer. "G'day Baz, how long can Australia expect to see ya

[174] The fact that the views of British critics were adopted in Australia so promptly indicates that Australian critics and audiences lacked confidence in their own judgement, preferring to defer to British opinion instead.
[175] Peter Coleman, 116.
[176] Peter Coleman, 115.
[177] Irving Wardle quoted in Peter Coleman, 115-16. The popular Sydney television talk-show host Mike Walsh described Humphries as Australia's "worst enemy" and stated that he was in the process of doing "great damage to our image over there." Mike Walsh quoted in Peter Coleman, 116, 164-65.
[178] When Humphries did respond to criticism, he was usually disguised as one of his characters. He also compensated for feelings of inadequacy with alcohol and during a return visit in 1970, he presented a play entitled "Welcome Home Mate" in which the main character was a "Drunken Ex-Pat" who had "trouble readjusting to the realities of the Australian life," a figure not unlike himself. Peter Coleman, 118-20.

> this trip?" "Oh, ages," I gabbled, "I mean, there's [*sic*] a few jobs on offer in the UK but it's wonderful to be home. I mean, it's just about the most interesting cultural centre in the world and I'm proud to be part of it. I don't think I'll be leaving for a long time." "Yeah, that figures," replied the scribbler, "The word's out you're not doing too well over there."[179]

Almost every statement Humphries made about his relationship with Australia or his sense of national identity was framed negatively in local press reports; showing the prevalence of the "Tall Poppy Syndrome." Australian critics believed he had been satirising a "long-gone, backward country" and was "unaware of the swinging, sophisticated new Australia."[180] By claiming that Humphries was "living in the past," the critics implied that they were the ones living in the present.[181] However, this accusation revealed little more than the critics' own fears that as "provincials" they were living in the past, while the expatriates working in the metropolitan centres were the real ones living in the present.[182]

Although Humphries has never returned to Australia to live permanently, he has continued to project various Australian identities throughout his career, demonstrating a life-long obsession with his homeland and its public affairs. Like other expatriates, including

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[179] Barry Humphries, 70. Humphries later created a character based on this experience; a journalist suffering from the Tall Poppy Syndrome. The journalist envied and loathed all successful Australian expatriates for turning their backs on Australia and going "after the bright lights and the facile acclamation of a bunch of snobs." The journalist announced: "If any of you members of the so-called 'Australian colony' deign to pay us a visit some time (and it may surprise you to learn that we don't much care whether you do or not), don't expect the red carpet . . . . And if you think we're going to bribe you to come home with astrological salaries, you've got another thing coming . . . . We don't want scum like you who've got to be paid to visit their homeland . . . . You're a bunch of bloody traitors!" Peter Coleman, 67-68. Many of the monologues Humphries devised for his one-man shows were inspired by aspects of the expatriate experience, including the criticism he received from Australia. Humphries also observed: "Anyone remotely famous visiting Australia was always asked their opinion of the continent minutes after their plane touched down. How they could possibly have formed a favourable opinion – and it had to be a *very* favourable opinion – in so brief a time boggles the imagination. Noël Coward mumbled something about Sydney having 'beautiful rooftops,' since that aspect of Australia was all he had glimpsed from the aircraft window before the journalists moved in on him." Barry Humphries, 69. Joan Sutherland has also commented on this phenomenon and Malcolm Williamson learned to anticipate such questions from the Australian press by declaring his Australian identity the moment he arrived, as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

[180] Peter Coleman, 117. The Australian press responded in a similar manner to most artistic products created by expatriates that were based on Australian subjects. For example, the Australian topoi explored in the Helpmann ballet *The Display* (1964), with music by Malcolm Williamson, were perceived by the Australian press as clichéd and out-of-date, as will be explored in more detail in Chapter 5.

[181] This is an example of the characteristic that A.A. Phillips identified as the "cringe inverted."

[182] Peter Coleman, 117.

Malcolm Williamson, Humphries has been perceived as brash, outspoken, direct and something of an "outsider" from society, with a lack of concern for European "taste;"[183] traits which could be considered uniquely Australian. He has also exhibited an inclusive philosophy, which was common among Australian expatriate creative artists; designing his characters and shows to appeal to the broadest demographic.[184] Additionally, Humphries has maintained connections with his homeland through friendships with other Australians, including the painter Arthur Boyd, and has played a role in raising the profile of Australia abroad, projecting its qualities in a humorous, if not always positive, light.

As suggested earlier in this chapter, the creative output of writer David Malouf (b. 1934) also demonstrates a preoccupation with Australia, the relationship between Australia and Britain and the expatriate experience. Malouf left Australia in 1959 and lived in London for almost a decade, before returning to Australia in 1968. Several of his novels explore the issue of exile, such as the celebrated *Remembering Babylon* (1993),[185] and his 1982 novel *Fly Away Peter* is also typical in its addressing of themes concerning Australia's complex relationship with Europe.[186]

The books and essays of Clive James (b. 1939) also reveal a mind ever-conscious of Australia, despite his choice to live in England since the early 1960s.[187] He has returned to Australia on numerous occasions and still carries an Australian passport, of which he is

[183] These qualities are often mediated through Humphries' stage characters.
[184] Peter Coleman, 49.
[185] *Remembering Babylon* is set in nineteenth-century Australia and tells the story of a young white male castaway who is raised by an indigenous Australian family. When the boy eventually makes contact with white Australians, the environment is familiar yet foreign and he begins to feel like an outsider to both cultures.
[186] See also David Malouf, "Made in England: Australia's British Inheritance," *Quarterly Essay* (Issue 12, 2003).
[187] See James' three-part autobiography: *Unreliable Memoirs*, *Falling Towards England* and *May Week was in June*.

"very proud."[188] Simultaneously, however, he has described his citizenship as "a bit uncertain,"[189] indicating that he has experienced the sense of statelessness that is common among expatriates, and admits that he has not regretted his choice to leave Australia:

> I think I did the right thing forty years ago. Australia has changed a lot since . . . . But in those days, when we were young, we felt we had to come over here to do the kind of work we wanted to do. I think we were right."[190]

The writer, actress, academic and feminist Germaine Greer (b. 1939) has admitted to feeling a similar way. She left Australia in 1964 to study a Bachelor of Arts at Cambridge because she thought the degree she had from the University of Sydney "probably wasn't good enough."[191] She was surprised to discover, however, that she had been "completely wrong . . . Cambridge offered an inferior version of the same thing" and shortly thereafter, she transferred to the university's Ph.D. program.[192] Her ultimate ambition was to return to Australia to take up an academic appointment because, despite her outgoing nature, she felt very lonely and isolated in England, later admitting, "I didn't belong anywhere . . . I was miserable";[193] a statement which echoed the sentiments of many expatriates. When she returned to Australia in the 1970s to promote books and make television programs, she

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[188] Clive James, transcript from interview with James Ellis held on 26 January 2005 available from www.metro.co.uk; Internet, accessed on 16 June 2008.
[189] Clive James, transcript from interview with James Ellis.
[190] Clive James, transcript from interview held on 6 July 2001, *BBC Talk: Your Thoughts, Your Views, Your Space Website*; available from http://www.bbc.co.uk/communicate/archive/clive_james/page1.shtml; Internet; accessed 3 June 2008.
[191] Germaine Greer quoted in Christine Wallace, 129. Greer once stated, "I had formed my plans to leave Australia when I was twelve. I think I decided that Australia and I were both deprived. It was boring. I used to walk down to Port Melbourne and watch the boats sail away, and I promised myself that I'd be on one just as soon as I could. It took me thirteen years to realise those plans. Once I'd gone, I knew I wasn't coming back." Germaine Greer quoted in Clyde Packer, *No Return Ticket* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1984), 99. Greer's first-class Masters degree helped to secure her a Commonwealth Scholarship to study at Cambridge.
[192] Germaine Greer quoted in Christine Wallace, 129. For her Ph.D., Greer conducted research into Shakespeare's early comedies and their contemporary continental counterparts. During her student years in Cambridge, she contributed to a number of revues, including a skit about the expectations placed on expatriate Australians by the English.
[193] Germaine Greer quoted in Christine Wallace, 147, 149.

found it as "easy and familiar as putting on an old shoe;" however, simultaneously, she knew that she would not be able to sustain a career in her homeland.[194]

Greer has commented on her expatriate experience many times and once described her life as one of "professional exile."[195] She has expressed sentimental thoughts about Australia on numerous occasions, announcing in 1981 that she dreamt about Sydney "at least once a week,"[196] and she was deeply saddened following an incident in which a compatriot mistook her for being English. She later reflected, "Here was proof positive that I had not a home, anywhere . . . . The Australian passport I was so proud of . . . meant nothing if my countrymen took me for a foreigner."[197]

Like many expatriates, Greer has been known to change her viewpoint to suit any given situation and according to biographer Christine Wallace, her style and language are "unmistakably antipodean: forthright, without regard to the authority of entrenched institutions and their leadership, and manifesting a biting wit,"[198] characteristics which certainly seem to be common among expatriate Australian creative artists, if not Australians generally. Greer has also attributed her pungent rhetorical style to her Australian heritage; observing that most Australians tend to speak over-emphatically: "Just listen to any of them: listen to Barry Humphries, listen to Clive James, listen to Robert Hughes, they all have this 'over the top' rhetorical power . . . . It's one of the ways

[194] Germaine Greer quoted in Christine Wallace, 154, 256-57. There were several occasions when Greer rejected offers of work in Australia because the fees proposed were not high enough to meet her demands. In the 1980s she wrote to the ABC Women's Broadcasting Cooperative: "Please note, there is no short cut to getting me to work for you. I am a professional and expect to be paid: my time is paid for at terms negotiated by my agent . . . . Why is it that only Australians pull these stunts?" Germaine Greer quoted in Christine Wallace, 291.

[195] Christine Wallace, 291. Greer complained profusely to the Australian press about the lack of opportunities for professionals like herself, declaring on one occasion, "The Americans ask me to come and be a visiting professor all the time. Australia, never . . . forget it!" Germaine Greer quoted in Clyde Packer, 99.

[196] Germaine Greer quoted in Christine Wallace, 292.

[197] Germaine Greer quoted in Christine Wallace, 292.

[198] Christine Wallace, 289. Greer's brusque and at times even patronising attitude has occasionally been perceived by the Australian press and public as pretentious, and has attracted intense criticism.

Australian language is spoken . . . ." [199] Perhaps not surprisingly, each of these Australian figures has used their "rhetorical powers" to comment on their complex relationships with Australia. This was also true of Malcolm Williamson, as will be shown in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

Robert Hughes (b. 1938) left Australia for London in 1965, the year after Germaine Greer. The pair had met through the Sydney group of artists, writers and intellectuals known as the "Push," of which Clive James was also a member. Hughes had decided to pursue a career as a commentator on the visual arts, but knew that it would be "flatly impossible" to acquire a working knowledge of fifteenth-century Italian painting, Baroque sculpture or contemporary European art while living in Australia.[200] In his 2006 memoir, *Things I Didn't Know*, Hughes writes extensively on his expatriate experience and relationship with Australia. He reveals that upon leaving Australia, he "hardly felt a twinge of misgiving."[201] What he was not prepared for, however, was the experience of being a "provincial" in London:

> I wish I could claim that I arrived in London full of good ideas and well-formed resolutions, but I did not . . . I knew nobody and I felt lost – a provincial Australian in a place that still . . . tended to look down on Australians. Whatever credibility as a writer I might have accumulated in Sydney counted for very little here . . . . I passed my days oscillating miserably between a sense of inferiority, which I did my best to conceal, and periodic flashes of exaltation induced by the wonderful things I was at last getting a serious look at . . . I marvelled at the sheer impaction of national art and imperial loot. And I was cowed by it. It was wholly outside my experience, because in Australia one had only been able to see the distant tail end

[199] Germaine Greer quoted in Christine Wallace, 289-90.
[200] Robert Hughes, *Things I Didn't Know: A Memoir* (Sydney: Random House, 2006), 274. Three years before Hughes left Australia, he had made a name for himself when his book *The Art of Australia* (1962) was one of the first to be released by Penguin's newly-established Australian publishing program. Hughes was encouraged to go abroad by his friend, the Australian expatriate writer Alan Moorehead, who gave Hughes letters of introduction to literary agents and publishers. Robert Hughes, 276.
[201] There were Australian friends that he would miss, but he believed there was every chance that they may see each other again on the "Other Side, in Europe." Robert Hughes, 282. The first chapter of Hughes' memoir is entitled "A Bloody Expat."

> of it. But would I, could I have anything of the smallest interest or originality to say about these mighty deposits of British culture, after all that the English, Irish, and Scots themselves had written and uttered?[202]

In spite of Hughes' initial feelings of inferiority and provinciality, it was not long before he achieved success as a writer in London; however, with this success came a barrage of written criticism from the Australian press. In his autobiography, Hughes claims that the source of the media's antagonism is related to the fact that he is a cultural "elitist" and that Australian journalists are intimidated by his preference for the "high arts" of Europe over the "colonial" culture of Australia.[203] Additionally, Hughes' admission that he despises Australia's sporting culture has only added more gravity to the general assumption that he has "sold out" on Australia.[204] What Hughes has struggled to understand, however, is why Australian journalists abhor elitism in art when they are content to celebrate the display of human inequality on the sporting field:

> Perhaps I am not a "true" Australian, as my antipodean critics have indeed been known to claim. Australians have no difficulty with elitism in sports. On the contrary, it fuels their imaginations, it blots up their leisure time, and they prize it as their chief claim to national distinction . . . . Competitive sport is not just an example, but the very essence, of elitist activity: by its nature, a competition can yield only one winner as against any number of losers . . . .[205]

The criticism of the Australian press has at times left Hughes feeling hurt and frustrated, and has caused him to lose the naïve nostalgia that he felt when he first left the country.[206]

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[202] Robert Hughes, 290-91.
[203] Hughes has admitted, "Of course I am completely an elitist, in the cultural but emphatically not the social sense . . . I am, after all, a cultural critic, and my main job is to distinguish the good from the second-rate." Robert Hughes, 38, 40.
[204] Hughes writes, "Due perhaps to some deformity in my upbringing, I've never been particularly keen on watching [sport] or felt concerned about which team, crew, or side won. The long bus ride out to the banks of the Nepean River for the inter-school regattas, and the tedium of sitting on an ant-infested grass slope waiting for the fours and eights to slide distantly past, could send me into a coma." Robert Hughes, 40.
[205] Robert Hughes, 41-42. Interestingly, many of the expatriate creative artists mentioned in this chapter have stated that they have next to no interest in playing or watching sport, including Malcolm Williamson.
[206] Robert Hughes, 42.

Reluctantly, he now questions the nature of his relationship with Australia and has even contemplated changing his citizenship status:

> The spate of inaccurate reports, the op-ed articles about my supposed disloyalty as an expatriate . . . all this had made me wonder if in fact there was anything to be gained by remaining a "patriot," whatever that now meant. What penance was I meant to do? Did Australian culture . . . have anything further to offer me? Conversely, did I owe Australia anything, having lived outside it for more than forty years and only lived in it for twenty-six? . . . Was my Australian-ness the most important thing about me, or was it only one of the attributes of an evolving life, one that could be left behind without bitterness on either side, even though my Australian accent . . . lingered in the branches of the gum tree?[207]

These questions are similar to those asked by most of the high-profile Australian expatriates mentioned in this chapter and in many ways Hughes' journey can be viewed as typical of the expatriate experience.

Each of the expatriates mentioned in this chapter left Australia because of the lack of career opportunities available to them locally and because of the general assumption that the colonial culture was inferior and that one just had to go "Overseas" in order to gain recognition at home. Once abroad, most of these figures felt the weight of their status as "provincials" bear heavily upon their sense of self-worth and confidence, especially as they began to judge their own creative works by world standards. They all worked hard to improve their knowledge and skills, not only to make ends meet, but because the thought of returning to Australian signified failure and was almost unthinkable. After achieving success in Britain, many made regular return visits to Australia and almost all were subjected to the intense scrutiny of the Australian press, particularly if they exhibited behaviour which could be perceived as pretentious. Such figures were viewed and portrayed by the press as "traitors," "ex-patriots" or "tall poppies" that needed to be cut

[207] Robert Hughes, 42.

down to a manageable, provincial size. The personal criticism that many of these creative artists experienced caused most of them to question their own sense of national identity. The problem was that if they were no longer Australian and never had been British, what exactly were they?

Expatriation could be a dislocating experience and the national identity of many expatriates seemed to fall between countries, never to settle completely with either the adopted country or of the country of origin, which often remained, at least psychologically, "home."[208] Most of the creative artists mentioned in this chapter, from Nellie Melba to Robert Hughes, were viewed by the British press and public as "brash," "forthright" and "crudely colonial," yet in Australia, they were referred to as "bloody Pommies," because their accents, mannerisms, attitudes and clothing had altered over time to emulate British trends.[209]

The sense of statelessness that was characteristic of the expatriate experience affected the personal and professional lives of these creative artists in a variety of ways. Many felt that they had to try harder to maintain a relationship with the country of their birth and they did so by returning regularly, by making connections with other Australians abroad and by projecting an Australian identity through their persona and/or their creative output. Most of these creative artists also found the expatriate experience less lonely when shared with others in a similar predicament, and so it was not unusual for them to band together for both social and professional purposes for this very reason. It was also common for these expatriates to make over-the-top declarations of loyalty to Australia and to base their

[208] Bruce Bennett, xii.
[209] The treatment the expatriates received from the Australian press and public varied according to the status they had achieved in the arts abroad, the contribution they made to the arts and arts-education in Australia, the number of times they returned and the duration of their visits, their behaviour during visits, the degree of pretentiousness they exhibited for having "made it" abroad and whether or not they proved their allegiance to Australia by expressing their Australian identity proudly and publicly.

creative works on Australian subjects and/or texts in order to maintain a strong sense of national identity and perhaps also to prove to Australian critics and audiences that they were not traitors or "ex-patriots." Some wrote stories set in Australia, painted Australian landscapes or wrote music inspired by Australian subjects or based on Australian texts. In their homeland, however, their work was often viewed as "clichéd" or "out-of-date," suggesting they had lost touch with the new, progressive Australia and that they were living in the past.

Jill Neville, Peter Porter, Murray Sayle, Barry Humphries and Robert Hughes, among others, found that the experience of exile provided creative impetus and that they were able to use their work as an outlet though which they could express their feelings about the expatriate experience and their relationship with Australia. A few of the figures mentioned in this chapter also changed their opinions of their homeland to suit the circumstances, or their audience, which indicates that they were willing to go to great lengths to gain a sense of belonging or acceptance in whichever country they were occupying at the time. The strong desire that most expatriates held to "fit in" also manifested itself in the "inclusive philosophy" that so many of them adopted in order to make their artistic endeavours seem less elitist and more accessible to people of all socio-economic backgrounds.[210]

While "stars" such as Nellie Melba, Percy Grainger, Eileen Joyce and Joan Sutherland were well-received by the Australian public, most of the time, their contributions to Australia were seriously overlooked or underestimated. By leaving Australia and staying abroad, it was presumed that these figures had neglected Australia. Not only had they taken their own talent away, but they were inspiring the younger generation of Australian creative artists to do the same. What the Australian press and public failed to realise,

[210] This philosophy also showed the influence of their democratic Australian backgrounds and was a reflection of the fact that they had not been brought up in the class-system of Europe.

however, was that for most expatriates, a permanent return was out of the question. Not only was it impossible for these Australian creative artists to maintain the same career and level of income in Australia that they had been enjoying in England, but if they returned to Australia, it was assumed that they had failed, as Barry Humphries has related. In addition, many of these figures had married English partners and had children who were settled in English schools. The Australian press and public also overlooked the fact that each of these expatriates made a significant contribution to their homeland just by being abroad and by helping to raise the profile of Australia, its artists and its artistic scene overseas. In addition, many expatriate creative artists directly contributed to the development of the arts in Australia by returning regularly, or even permanently, and by spreading the knowledge and ideas they had learned and cultivated overseas to younger generations of Australians. Further to this, by achieving success in the arts abroad, the expatriates made it possible for other Australians to take pride in their country's cultural history and achievements.

Almost all of the characteristics of the expatriate experience mentioned above are evident in the journey of the composer Malcolm Williamson. Williamson's expatriate experience was shaped not only by the prevailing *zeitgeist* and cultural attitudes towards expatriates, but also by the unique range of choices he made and by the variety of opportunities that were presented to him over the course of his career. These ideas will be explored in detail in Chapter 3, "Williamson's Expatriate Experience."

Chapter Three

Williamson's Expatriate Experience

Malcolm Williamson's decision to leave Australia for London in the early 1950s marked the beginning of a compositional career pursued according to environmental influences.[1] His expatriate journey was affected by the people he met and worked with, the places he visited (especially his homeland), the number and types of commissions he received, his complex persona, his controversial views and behaviour, the criticism he received, his relationship with the press in both Britain and Australia and the prevailing zeitgeist and cultural attitudes towards expatriates. This chapter will explore Williamson's life as an expatriate and make several parallels between his experiences and those of other expatriate creative artists, as detailed in Chapter 2, in order to gain an understanding of the extent to which his journey was typical of the expatriate experience. In particular, this discussion aims to reveal the reasons why Williamson projected an Australian identity and also to illustrate exactly how he expressed his Australian identity through his persona. The press played a major role in documenting much of this information and its criticism of Williamson's music and persona influenced his attitudes and experiences significantly. Therefore, this chapter will also examine the inaccuracies of the media's perception and representation of Williamson, its role in fabricating a rift between the composer and the Royal family, and the implications of such damaging speculation on his career and experience as an Australian expatriate.[2]

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[1] Brian Chatterton, "Malcolm Williamson," *Australian Composition in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Frank Callaway and David Tunley (Melbourne: OUP, 1978), 146.

[2] This chapter will draw on the collection of Williamson's papers held at the National Library of Australia and the archive of Josef Weinberger publishing house in London. For an article dedicated to Williamson's relationship with the press, see Appendix C, Carolyn Philpott, "The Master and the Media: Malcolm Williamson in the Press," in *Musical Islands: Exploring Connections between Music, Place and Research*, ed. Elizabeth Mackinlay, Brydie-Leigh Bartleet and Katelyn Barney (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 157-88.

Like many young Australian creative artists of the post-war period, Williamson went abroad because he had felt inhibited by the lack of professional opportunities available in Australia and had been inspired by what he had heard about the vibrant cultural scene of London and continental Europe. In addition, most of his teachers at the NSW State Conservatorium, including Goossens, Sverjensky and Burnard, were of European origin and had encouraged him and other gifted young Australian composers and musicians to look abroad for further training and experience. According to Williamson, his studies under Goossens had led him to believe that his "life lay in being a composer more than in being a pianist" and the realisation that it was possible to make composition a full-time profession in London had given him "the greatest encouragement."[3] Williamson later spoke of his decision to leave Australia in an interview with the Australian press:

> When I was growing up during the Depression everybody thought you had to go to London, New York or Paris. None of us in Australia took account of the fact that – thanks to Adolf Hitler, Stalin and others – a great richness from Europe had come to Australia, and the training given in the arts, education and medicine was just tremendous. But on the other side of the world, cut off by World War II, we didn't know that. So, when I graduated in music from Sydney, the pennies were scraped together because London was thought to be Mecca.[4]

Armed with letters of introduction from Goossens and Sverjensky, Williamson left Australia in early 1950 at the age of nineteen, accompanied by his mother, Bessie, for what was to be a six-month period abroad.[5] They enjoyed brief stops in Italy, Vienna, Berlin and Paris, before settling in London. In Paris, Williamson met and pursued lengthy

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[3] Malcolm Williamson, "Conversation with Malcolm Williamson," interview by Hazel de Berg, transcript of sound recording, 8 October 1967, National Library of Australia ORAL DeB 290, 291, 292.
[4] Williamson quoted in Sarah Harris, "Queen's Composer Still Maintains Political Rage," *The Mercury* (Hobart), 15 October 1992. Williamson later commented that the training he had received in Australia was of a standard comparable to that provided by any leading musical institution in the world. Belinda Webster, "A Word With Malcolm Williamson," *ABC Radio 24 Hours* (November 1991), 34.
[5] The letter from Goossens, dated 28 October 1949, read: "To whom it may concern. The bearer of this letter, Malcolm Williamson, has studied composition with me and, in my opinion, deserves every encouragement in his creative work. Both his originality and his industry make him very potentially a young man whose future will be well worth watching." Eugene Goossens quoted in Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, *Malcolm Williamson: A Mischievous Muse* (London: Omnibus Press, 2007), 40.

discussions about British music with the conductor, musicologist and critic Frederick Goldbeck, who Williamson found to be "very scornful of most things, but [who] named four people who were figures of significance – Britten, Lutyens, Lambert and Rawsthorne."[6] Once in London, Williamson attempted, unsuccessfully, to convince Alan Rawsthorne to give him lessons. He then contacted Elisabeth Lutyens (1906-1983), who was at that time a relatively unknown pioneer of serial writing in England. It was the beginning of a long and fruitful association and years later, he was to write to her, "If you were to undress my musical personality, you would find the fingerprints of your own still there."[7]

When Williamson returned to England to settle permanently in early 1953, this time in the company of his whole family, he recommenced composition lessons with Lutyens immediately.[8] Although he had made a few contacts in London and had been given a good introduction to the city during his previous visit, when he returned there to settle and make a career he found himself suffering from a strong dose of the so-called "cultural cringe," as he later admitted:

> Coming from Australia, I began with a terrible timidity of the great European world, and there was a chip on my shoulder, a feeling of inferiority, imposed, I think, as much by the Australian mentality as by any European superiority . . . this has to be fought and one has to learn to hold one's head high as an Australian.[9]

The sense of inferiority that Williamson described was also experienced by numerous other Australian expatriate creative artists, as discussed previously; however, it was not long

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[6] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Alan Poulton, *Alan Rawsthorne* (Kidderminster: Bravura, 1984), 56.
[7] Malcolm Williamson quoted in liner notes to *Red Leaves*, Brunel Ensemble, Cala Records CACD 77005 (1996).
[8] During the voyage he befriended the young aspiring actress Ruth Cracknell (1925-2002), who was also relocating to England for career purposes. The pair entertained guests on board the *Otranto* with their duo of poetry and music. Ruth Cracknell, *A Biased Memoir* (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin, 1997), 87. Williamson's family stayed in London for two years before returning to Australia.
[9] Malcolm Williamson, "Conversation with Malcolm Williamson."

before he achieved great success and found that he was able to "hold his head high as an Australian," expressing a proud Australian identity through his music and verbal remarks.

Williamson's rise to success was somewhat accelerated by a series of fortuitous encounters with high-profile British musicians and composers during his first few years in London. With money rather tight upon his arrival, he acquired a job as proof-reader at Boosey & Hawkes, the publishing house responsible for producing the works of Goossens. It was through this position that Williamson came to know Erwin Stein, who was a former student of Schoenberg and a friend of Benjamin Britten.[10] Shortly thereafter, concurrent with his studies with Lutyens, Williamson began studying composition with Stein and befriended Britten and his partner, tenor Peter Pears.[11] Britten and Pears helped to promote some of Williamson's earliest works, such as the song *Aye, flattering fortune* for unaccompanied tenor, which was given its first public airing by Pears in December 1954.[12]

Through his role at Boosey & Hawkes, Williamson also met the composer Gerald Finzi, who introduced him to the renowned conductor Sir Adrian Boult.[13] Boult soon became an important influence on and advocate for Williamson, promoting his works through performances with the London Philharmonic Orchestra and convincing the music department of BBC Radio to broadcast his compositions. As stated in Chapter 1, both Britten and Boult were extremely impressed by Williamson's ability to premiere his own keyboard works and in addition, they helped to ensure that many of his earliest works were

[10] Stein had worked as an Editor at Boosey & Hawkes since 1938. Malcolm Williamson, "Conversation with Malcolm Williamson."
[11] This teaching arrangement provided the young student with a balanced musical education, for according to Williamson, Lutyens' "sonic imagination was very acute and Erwin Stein emphasised things structural in his teaching." Malcolm Williamson quoted in Belinda Webster, 35. Both teachers encouraged Williamson to study the music of the Second Viennese School of composers and to explore the possibilities of serial techniques in his own compositions.
[12] Pears performed *Aye, flattering fortune* at Morley College, London, on 22 December 1954. Donald Mitchell, "London Music: Some First Performances," *The Musical Times* (February 1955): 92.
[13] Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 84-85.

published.[14] Williamson's hard work and astute social networking during this period eventually paid off; his music achieved such popularity that by the mid-1960s he was commonly referred to as the most commissioned composer in Britain.

Although Williamson was one of the most successful Australian expatriates of his generation, he was also one of the most controversial, and his career and expatriate experience were significantly affected by the inordinate amount of media attention and criticism he received during his lifetime. Critical comments about Williamson and his music first appeared as early as the mid-1950s, when his music was only just beginning to attract public attention. In fact, many of the compositions that helped to establish his career were initially greeted with mixed reviews from music critics. For example, the *Sonata for Piano* (1955-56), which was premiered by the composer at the 1956 Aldeburgh Festival following a request from Britten, attracted both positive and negative critical responses. This work shows Williamson's adaptation of serial methods to operate within a tonal framework and demonstrates an overriding concern for lyricism, both of which were to become features of his mature output.[15] However, while one critic described the sonata as "one of the very few important pieces of really new piano writing of recent (and even not so recent) years, a fascinating and satisfactory work,"[16] another announced, "It is a disappointment to see so much contrivance spent to such little effect."[17] Since this time, critical response to Williamson's music has almost always been polarised and

[14] Paul Conway, "Malcolm Williamson – A 70th Birthday Tribute," April 2001, available from http://www.musicweb-international.com/Williamson/index.htm; Internet; accessed 27 August 2008.
[15] The *Sonata for Piano*, published by Boosey & Hawkes, is dedicated to Williamson's parents. The first four bars of the sonata's opening movement employ all twelve pitches of the chromatic scale, however, some pitches are repeated before all twelve are heard and the frequent reiteration of the notes "F" and "C" suggests F as a tonal centre.
[16] Colin Mason, "Some New Music," *Musical Times*, xcvii (August 1956): 422.
[17] Ivor Keys, "Reviews of Music," *Music and Letters*, xxxvii, 4 (October 1956): 421.

unbalanced,[18] despite the fact that audiences have generally been very supportive of the composer and his music.

Most of the criticism directed at Williamson's music relates to the apparent eclecticism and inconsistencies in musical style evident when comparing one work to the next or sometimes within a given work. Williamson's compositional language, like his life and personality, embodied contradictions and from the late 1950s onwards, his musical output followed two distinctly different, and at times conflicting, modes of development. Many of his works were written in a serious vein and show the influence of his training in serial techniques, such as the first and second symphonies (1956-57 and 1968, respectively), the Organ Symphony (1960), *Symphony for Voices* (1960-62), Sonata for Two Pianos (1967) and the Piano Quintet (1968). Simultaneously, however, he composed works in a more popular, accessible style, such as his early church music, several instrumental works (including the tuneful Overture *Santiago de Espada*, 1957), and the ten Cassations (dating from 1967), which feature simple, melodic lyricism inspired by the composer's work as a night-club pianist during the late 1950s.[19]

Williamson's persistence with writing music in these two contrasting idioms, the serious and the popular, and the diverse range of political, humanitarian, religious and literary interests that influenced his output have at times infuriated critics and inhibited them from categorising his personal compositional style. In an interview in 1967, Williamson responded to the ongoing criticism regarding his lack of stylistic consistency and defended his works in the accessible idiom:

[18] Thérèse Radic, "Malcolm Benjamin Graham Christopher Williamson," in *The Oxford Companion to Australian Music*, ed. Warren Bebbington (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1997), 592.
[19] Williamson's work as a night-club pianist exposed him to the popular tunes of Gershwin, Kern, Rodgers and Bernstein.

> I've never had much use for what the critic would like to call consistency in music. Our great enemy, the music critic, demands consistency but this is largely so that he can write of one's music all tied up into neat packages. I don't think it is necessary to give the critic this . . . to do this means suppressing one side of myself and I suppose the vulgar or blatant perhaps melodic instinct which is in me . . . . Both of these things, the simple and the complex, the dense and the sparse, must exist side by side in music . . . . The greatest crime in musical composition is to bore . . . . The fashion has been prevalent that music must be . . . a thing of the intellect, and it must be a thing for the understanding few . . . [music] seems at times to be in danger of dying of its own sterilisation because there is a lack of the human in it.[20]

As this statement implies, Williamson believed that music should not be aimed at a "small snobbish coterie,"[21] but rather, that it should be written for the enjoyment of everyone, and this is one reason why he composed music in such a diverse range of styles and genres.[22] This egalitarian attitude towards the arts was something he shared in common with other Australian expatriate creative artists and is a quality that has been recognised as characteristically Australian, as discussed in Chapter 2. Williamson's divergence from what was expected of a young composer in England in the 1950s and 1960s was, therefore, inextricably tied to his Australian heritage and also to the sense of detachment that he felt from the musical history and traditions of Britain and continental Europe.[23]

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[20] Malcolm Williamson, "Conversation with Malcolm Williamson." The following year, 1968, Williamson again defended his approach to musical style: "Strangeness and conflicts exist inside me; stylistic clashes which I have to cultivate and discipline as best I can. I think my music displays a wide stylistic spectrum, and I know from the response it gets from the public and from critics that it has the power to disconcert and to shock. But it embraces apparently contradictory ideas rather than from any intrinsic desire to shock. Nowadays, I think certain composers are too ready to accept limited tenets of style instead of exploring a wide stylistic range." Williamson quoted in Kenneth Dommett, "Malcolm Williamson talks to Kenneth Dommett," *Birmingham Post*, 23 March 1968. Only a handful of critics have suggested that Williamson's stylistic inconsistency may have been a product of his search for a universally-appealing musical language, as a reviewer from *The Scotsman* insinuated in 1965: "In many ways his music is alive with brilliance and talent. He is never dull, has a flair for elegant melody, and orchestrates with assurance and sophistication. But stylistically he is a chameleon. What is Mr Williamson's purpose in ducking from style to style? Is he after some sort of symbolic 'universality'?" JC, *The Scotsman*, 10 September 1965. As this present study will reveal, it seems as though this was exactly Williamson's purpose.

[21] *Melbourne Sun*, January 1962.

[22] Paul Jennings, "Music is for Everyone," no source or date given, available from Josef Weinberger archive, London; accessed 26 June 2006.

[23] He alluded to this idea in an interview published in *The Times* in 1956: "I was lucky enough to grow up without the modern tradition and then come to Britain and discover 12-note music, Serialism, and all the

As Thérèse Radic has observed, Williamson's defiance of his critics was "deliberate and sustained"[24] and during the late 1950s and 1960s, he went to great lengths to defend his light church music and cassations, which had elicited more derision from critics than any other works he had produced to date.[25] Both of these groups of works were designed to be universally appealing and *Gebrauchsmusik* and the cassations, in particular, achieved a level of success well beyond what Williamson had initially anticipated.[26] These innovative "mini-operas" for audience participation were very popular in school music programs as a means of introducing children to the mechanics of opera and were later found to be extremely effective when used with physically and intellectually disabled children. Despite their success in the classroom and their proven therapeutic benefits, however, the cassations were frequently criticised by reporters and dismissed as "trivial," "superficial" and "simplistic."[27] According to some critics, Williamson's desire to encourage the musically uneducated to participate actively in the creation of opera through the singing of simple melodies and the improvisation of dramatic actions was inconsistent with his stature as a composer of serious music.

Williamson regularly seized opportunities within press interviews to defend his inclusive approach to composition, stating on different occasions:

> People are more important than music . . . . If I want my music to reach all sorts and conditions of people, it is likely that I will have to, in my own style, write all

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things that are going on. That was terribly good and terribly exciting, but coming to it as I did from the outside, I can excuse myself for being conscious that I've been right through all that." Malcolm Williamson quoted in "Malcolm Williamson on Writing Music," *The Times*, 19 August 1965.

[24] Thérèse Radic, 592.

[25] Examples of Williamson's light Church music include *Adoremus* (1959, Boosey & Hawkes), *Procession of Palms* (1961, Josef Weinberger), *Easter Carol* (1962, Josef Weinberger) and *Harvest Thanksgiving* (1962, Josef Weinberger).

[26] Paul Jennings, "Music is for Everyone."

[27] "Malcolm Williamson: Composer, Master of the Queen's Music, 1931-2003," *Sydney Organ Journal* 34, no.3 (2003): 17-18.

> sorts and conditions of music . . . . All my music is composed to teach on different levels – to disturb and get under the skin and prod at preconceptions.[28]
>
> I hate the idea of music being merely professional performers before passive audiences . . . . Some critics don't like this do-it-yourself stuff, but for me it's just the wheel coming full circle . . . I hope music is for everyone.[29]

Despite his confident public persona, however, Williamson found it increasingly difficult to remain unaffected by the negative criticism his music received. In an interview conducted in 1966, he admitted:

> To go on being what you are, musically speaking, is not always easy. Creative artists, more than most people, love approbation; and to be starved of critical approbation can be painful. While knowing what asses most music critics are, composers writhe at the thought of thousands of people reading adverse notices written in haste by them.[30]

Williamson was determined, however, to maintain his multifaceted musical identity and this was the impetus behind a number of warnings he issued in the 1960s to emerging and established Australia-based composers concerning their apparent inclination to follow European musical trends. In 1966, thirteen years after he had left Australia permanently and a year prior to his first return visit, he encouraged Australian composers to embrace their unique national heritage:

> I abhor more than I can say the occasional signs from Australia that it is desirable to attain a European chic . . . [I have] seen a number of my fellow composers treating the musical profession as a rat-race . . . . In this race they see Pierre Boulez firing a Schoenbergian starter's pistol . . . . It is unlikely that Australia will produce the sort of key-figure who will . . . seriously disturb the language of music in the Western world, but should one Australian composer do so it will be out of sheer

[28] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Phillip Truckenbrod, "Aussie Composer Writes for Multi-Faceted Man," *Music in Jersey*, no date given, available from Josef Weinberger archive, London; accessed 26 June 2006.
[29] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Paul Jennings, "Music is for Everyone."
[30] Malcolm Williamson, "A Composer's Heritage," *Composer* (Spring 1966), 72.

> force of musical personality, an acceptance of his indigenous past and a forging forward into his own future, rather than a donning of new garments from the old world.[31]

Despite Williamson's attempts to offer useful advice to Australian composers, when he returned to Australia in 1967 for the first time in almost fifteen years, he was labelled a "tall poppy" by his compatriots and treated with hostility by the Australian press.[32] This was not particularly unusual at the time, as there were many other Australian expatriate creative artists who encountered the so-called "Tall Poppy Syndrome" during return visits, as has been discussed earlier. The Australian press had previously been sympathetic to neutral in its reporting of information about Williamson and his achievements abroad; however, the composer's 1967 visit marked a turning point in the way he was perceived and represented by the Australian media.

The catalyst for this change seems to have been Williamson's eagerness at this time to offer Australia-based composers advice about their stylistic directions, as illustrated in the quotation above, and his public criticism of the Australian Government's lack of support for the arts and creative artists; views that were perceived by the local press as arrogant and patronising when coming from an expatriate. It probably did not help Williamson's cause that he announced that he had waited until he was on Australian soil to voice his complaints because he believed "If you say nasty things when you're living outside the

[31] Williamson, "A Composer's Heritage," 71-72. Williamson later encouraged his fellow Australian composers to follow his lead and write music in a more accessible style so that it could be used by children and amateur performers, and to educate future generations. He stated "If these [Australian] composers can but learn to write for children, learn to write very much in their own musical styles but as simply, directly and clearly as possible, they will be creating a public for themselves and for their followers in the next generation, as well as creating a much richer musical culture in the nation." Malcolm Williamson, "Conversation with Malcolm Williamson." Williamson's ideas about introducing Australian children to music may have been influenced by his association with Bernard Heinze in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Heinze held similar beliefs about introducing Australia's youth to classical music in order to boost its national profile.

[32] Williamson returned for three weeks in September 1967 at the request of Musica Viva Australia to participate in the Spring Festival held in Canberra. He also made an appearance on ABC Radio as "Guest of Honour" and made a number of recordings for the ABC, including recordings of the Sonata for Two Pianos with Nigel Butterley, the Second Piano Concerto and the Organ Symphony.

country it looks bad . . . . This is the first chance I've had in fifteen years."[33] Whilst criticising the Australian Government, however, he was full of praise and support for Australian musicians and composers, as the following excerpt from a talk that he gave as the ABC's "Guest of Honour" demonstrates:

> Our Australian-ness comes through in our music, I think, as clearly [as] in the works of our painters . . . the brash, candid, no-nonsense character of Australia directs an Australian composer's thinking . . . . The country is bursting at the seams with serious and important musical talent (including compositional talent), and the idea that it must be siphoned out to London, to Paris, to New York, or to Moscow, because a young underpopulated country cannot support its composers is simply unacceptable. Composers should be able to live here . . . .[34]

It is worth mentioning here that Williamson identified certain qualities, such as brashness and candidness, as unique to the Australian character, as the above quotation illustrates, and during the same 1967 visit, he also observed that the social manner of Australians was "forthright," "direct" and "markedly different" from that of the English, Europeans or Americans.[35] As discussed earlier, Williamson had already announced during the previous year, 1966, that he considered his music to be "characteristically Australian" because it exhibited the Australian qualities of "brashness" and "directness"[36] and his personality also seemed to embody these traits. Indeed, these characteristics can also be identified in the personas of most of the Australian expatriate creative artists referred to in Chapter 2, and

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[33] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Sue Jordan, "Home is Where He Says What He Thinks," *The Australian*, 12 September 1967. He continued, "It's easy to be nostalgic when you're so far away."
[34] Malcolm Williamson, "Australian Broadcasting Commission: Guest of Honour," 24 September 1967. During the same visit to Australia, Williamson declared: "I think one's Australianism in music comes out in the music itself and not in plastering titles to do with gumtrees or koala bears on to the music. The real Australian-ness is in our nature, and we have, of all new countries in the world . . . the strongest national identity and this is there in the musical character." Malcolm Williamson, "Conversation with Malcolm Williamson." He later complained "Australia has never had cultural attachés in the major cities of the world," an idea initially expressed by his friend and professional associate Robert Helpmann, and communicated his disappointment over the fact that "Australia has never had publishing houses for serious music." Malcolm Williamson, "How Australian Can Australian Music Become," extracts from a paper read at the Commonwealth Section of the Royal Society for Management of Arts, Manufacturers and Commerce, 1970.
[35] Malcolm Williamson, "Australian Broadcasting Commission: Guest of Honour."
[36] Malcolm Williamson, "A Composer's Heritage," *Composer* (Spring 1966): 71.

have previously been recognised as uniquely Australian, or as some critics have stated, "crudely colonial."[37] For Williamson, however, these traits held special significance because they helped to set him and his music apart from British composers and British music, and simultaneously, gave him and his music a strong sense of place and national identity.[38]

Another of Williamson's expatriate grievances was that his music was better known and more frequently performed in England than in his homeland; a fact he reiterated on numerous occasions during his career. The comments he made to an Australian reporter in 1972 summarised his argument succinctly and were printed in *The Age* (Melbourne) under the headline "Feted Abroad; Ignored at Home:"

> It is upsetting to be ignored by your own country. Being slated or abused is different. If my work was ignored all over the place, I would accept that as a likely indication that it was worthy of being ignored. But my operas and other music are persistently performed in many parts of the world, yet not in Australia. You know, I sometimes think this is a curiously Australian thing – a resentment of those who live and work abroad . . . . Australia is like a woman who will not allow a child to grow up and go away to live his own life.[39]

Williamson's complaint extended to the fact that he had applied for numerous academic positions in Australia, but had been rejected. Eventually, in 1973, he was offered a three-month H.C. Coombs Creative Arts Fellowship at the Australian National University. He accepted the position with great enthusiasm, but also used the publicity surrounding the appointment to express his ongoing frustration over the lack of permanent positions for

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[37] Nancy Phelan, *Charles Mackerras: A Musicians' Musician* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1987), 223.
[38] Paul Conway, "Malcolm Williamson – A 70th Birthday Tribute."
[39] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Peter Cole Adams, "The Expatriates: Feted Abroad; Ignored at Home," *The Age*, 24 June 1972, 10. By the late 1960s, Williamson had experienced great success in England with the large-scale operas *Our Man in Havana* (1963), *The Violins of Saint-Jacques* (1966) and *Lucky Peter's Journey* (1967-69) and the chamber operas *English Eccentrics* (1963-63), *The Happy Prince* (1964-65), *Julius Caesar Jones* (1965) and *The Growing Castle* (1968), yet there was little to no interest in staging these works in his homeland.

expatriate creative artists in Australia. *The Australian* announced the Creative Arts Fellowship with the front-page headline "Humiliated Composer Glad to Accept First Job Back Home," followed by an article which quotes Williamson directly:

> The humiliation of asking Australia to take you back is considerable. And I have done it often. I went to London in 1953 and I always swore that if someone offered me a job in Australia I'd come back. This is my first offer and here I am . . . I've never had to ask for a job in my life – people come to me . . . Australia is the only place I've written to saying: "Please employ me." There are blocks of Australians in England who would love to come back. I've sent suggestions all over Australia and they've been rejected again and again.[40]

Likewise, *The Herald* (Melbourne) printed a detailed account of Williamson's complaints, under the title "An Aussie Complains with a Pommy Accent," which concludes with Williamson stating that because of the lack of support for his work in Australia "I have to be an expatriate . . . how I loathe that word!"[41] Both articles portray Williamson as an outspoken "tall poppy," as did the caption of a photograph that appeared in *The Australian* in December 1973, which accompanied an article detailing Williamson's plan to obtain a permanent job in Australia (see Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1 Photograph from *The Australian*, 11 December 1973.

Malcolm Williamson blows his own trumpet

[40] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Janet Hawley, "Humiliated Composer Glad to Accept First Job Back Home," *The Australian*, 14 August 1973.
[41] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Neil Jillett, "An Aussie Complains with a Pommy Accent," *The Herald*, 7 September 1973, 4.

Although Williamson's complaints stemmed from a deep desire to be able to live and work in the country of his birth, it seems that many Australian reporters interpreted his criticisms as pretentious. It is likely that many Australian journalists, music critics and musicians were also deeply envious of Williamson's success abroad. One of the few journalists who jumped to his defence was Fred Blanks of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, who attributed the negative response in Australia to Williamson's accessible music to professional jealousy:

> A self-righteous and fairly influential circle of local creative musicians find it strange at best and unfortunate at worst that Williamson, who has been living in England for two decades, should want to write melody-based music. One detects a whiff of sour grapes . . . . Musical progressives, often cold, academic or rebellious at heart, who find their own "masterpieces" turning into public disaster pieces, like to spread the deplorable view that composers such as Williamson, who win public acclaim and even affection, are really prostituting not just their talent but the integrity of contemporary music.[42]

The negative attitude that many Australian musicians and reporters held towards Williamson's accessible music did not prevent the composer from workshopping his cassations with Australian school children, including intellectually impaired children, during his 1973 visit.[43]

Quite by accident, Williamson had met a group of intellectually handicapped children from the Koomarri School at Tuggeranong, south of Canberra, during his 1967 visit. Inspired by the success that his friend and associate John Andrewes, of Boosey & Hawkes, had experienced whilst "performing" the cassations with physically handicapped children, Williamson decided to devote some of his Fellowship time in 1973 to work with a group of

[42] Fred Blanks, "Milestones Along Our Music's Bush-Track," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 August 1973, 14.
[43] Although many Australian musicians and reporters criticised Williamson's cassations, most reviews of performances acknowledged that the audience members who participated seemed to enjoy the experience. During Williamson's 1967 visit to Australia, he had conducted his first cassation, *The Moonrakers* for audience and orchestra (1967), to great success during the Canberra Spring Festival. For more information, see Roger Covell, "A Tiny Work of Joy," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 October 1967.

children from the Koomarri School, firstly on a simplified version of his cassation *Genesis* (1971).[44] The outcomes were surprising and promising, as this "all-involving instant music drama" allowed the children to "exercise their bodies in unusual ways without their realising it."[45] Impressed by these positive results, Williamson then embarked on a serious study of music therapy, travelling to Tanzania later in 1973 to workshop his cassations with another group of intellectually impaired children. He observed:

> When we took the brain-damaged children into this unobserved situation they were singing instead of speaking, being somebody else instead of themselves, making gestures that were unnatural if they were themselves but were natural if they were elephants or Vikings or crocodiles. After a while they were beginning to do things that went against the known medical diagnosis. We discovered all sorts of abilities that hadn't been looked for and were right there just waiting to be exploited but by indirect means. We had to find ways to trick the information into the unimpaired part of the brain, usually into its retentive faculty, and somehow get around the insulted, damaged, part.[46]

Despite the success of the cassations with both intellectually and physically disabled children and their obvious potential for future therapeutic use, Williamson continued to receive critical comments in relation to these works for the duration of his career.[47]

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[44] This was one of the first times the cassations had been workshopped with intellectually impaired children.
[45] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Jill Sykes, "Composer Bangs the Big Drum," *The Advertiser*, 18 August 1973, 27. Williamson later stated, "The total participation of audiences [in the performances of cassations] means that there are no longer audiences, only participants, so that there is nobody to judge the quality of the performance, simply singing and acting by all present." Malcolm Williamson, "English Sinfonia 1978-79" pamphlet, available from Josef Weinberger archive, London; accessed June 2006. Representatives of the ABC were so impressed by these innovative works that they commissioned Williamson to compose a cassation based on an Australian theme, which became *The Glitter Gang* (1974).
[46] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Jill Margo, "Why Life is Movement to the Musick Master," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 March 1983, 40. The cassations have since been translated into a number of languages, including French and German, in order to make them even more universally accessible.
[47] Williamson's interest in music therapy also led him to study the cognitive development of children with intellectual impairments, the so-called split brain theory, and to research the brain functions of crocodiles. Ena Kendall, "On Her Majesty's Symphonic Service," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 April 1992. Williamson became so fascinated by members of the crocodilian family, such as alligators, caimans and gavials, that he collected as much information about these animals and their retentive memories as possible; however, while all this research stemmed from Williamson's underlying interest in music therapy, the press relished the opportunity to ridicule him. As late as 1990, one critic wrote: "Malcolm Williamson, the Master of the Queen's Music, has developed a peculiar passion for crocodiles . . . . His close friend, publisher Simon Campion, tells me: 'He collects ornamental crocodiles, artefacts, pictures and books to do with crocodiles. In fact, he has become extraordinarily knowledgeable about reptiles in general.' Williamson, 59, has been

The criticism that Williamson received intensified following his appointment as Master of the Queen's Music in 1975. While outwardly this Royal appointment signalled Williamson's acceptance by the British Establishment, the controversy that it stirred in England as well as Australia was indicative of the ambiguity of his cultural identity. While the British press complained that an Australian could not possibly have had sufficient grounding in the British music tradition to fulfil the Royal post adequately, critics in Australia simultaneously questioned whether an individual who had lived abroad for over twenty years could still be referred to as "Australian." Even the announcement of the appointment itself was not without controversy, as many critics, in anticipation that Malcolm Arnold would be the successful nominee, speculated that the Queen had selected "the wrong Malcolm."[48] In formulating this piece of unfounded trivia, reporters conveniently overlooked the fact that Williamson had been recommended for the post by his mentor, Benjamin Britten,[49] and that he had previously composed a number of works for Royal occasions, including *Mowing the Barley* (1967), a short folk-song arrangement for SATB chorus and orchestra that was commissioned by the Greater London Council for the opening of the Queen Elizabeth Hall; *I Will Lift Up Mine Eyes* (1970), an anthem for chorus, echo chorus and organ that was commissioned by St Stephen's Church, Sydney, and first performed there on 3 May 1970 in the presence of the Queen; *Adelaide Fanfare* (1973) for brass and organ, which was premiered in 1973 during the Royal visit to Adelaide by the Queen and Prince Philip; and *Canberra Fanfare* (1973) for brass and percussion, composed for the opening of the Canberra Theatre by the Queen.[50] In addition, Williamson had shared a strong professional association with the previous Master of the

producing royal tunes since 1975. Sadly his annual honorarium of £100 won't buy him a real crocodile." *Evening Standard*, 31 December 1990.

[48] Don Kay to Carolyn Philpott, personal communication, May 2006. This story was recounted so frequently that it was even included in Arnold's obituary in the *Daily Telegraph*, published on 25 September 2006.

[49] Humphrey Carpenter, *Benjamin Britten: A Biography* (London: Faber and Faber, 1992), 571-72.

[50] Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue" (Hertfordshire: Campion Press, 2008).

Queen's Music, Sir Arthur Bliss, who in 1972 had commissioned Williamson to compose a symphony, his third, for the Cheltenham Festival.[51]

The media's omission of these facts did little to help the public or Malcolm Arnold himself accept the Queen's decision, for in the days following the announcement, Arnold reportedly attempted suicide.[52] While the controversy surrounding the appointment undoubtedly would have dampened Williamson's celebrations, shortly after the announcement he returned to Australia, where he expressed his surprise and delight to the media, simultaneously re-confirming his Australian identity:

> I was feeling very gloomy over the past few years thinking my life as a composer was finished . . . then quite out of the blue I was chosen as Master of the Queen's Musick . . . I am very proud to be the first Australian [to be appointed to the post] . . . . To the day of my death I shall be in spirit, an Australian.[53]

It is likely that this overt declaration of national identity was made in an attempt to anticipate and abate probing questions from Australian journalists, who were already beginning to criticise Williamson for the length of time he had lived abroad. Other members of the press, such as the well-respected music critic Maria Prerauer, took the opportunity to criticise Williamson's music to the composer's face. Prerauer, who was occasionally referred to as "Maria Piranha" by her detractors,[54] projected her strong views

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[51] After Bliss' death, Williamson composed a Piano Trio (1975-76) in his honour, which was premiered on 22 June 1976. Several years later, Williamson spoke very highly of Bliss in an interview with the media: "When I heard the radio announcement that Arthur [Bliss] was dead, I burst into tears. I was still crying when the BBC rang up, and I went and did an off-the-cuff broadcast about him. Later, when I became his successor as MQM, I felt terribly inadequate. Partly – well, it's a royal command, one is part of the royal household; and partly, one thinks of one's predecessors: Elgar, Bax, Arthur . . . ." Malcolm Williamson quoted in Paul Jennings, "Music is for Everyone."

[52] Paul Harris and Anthony Meredith, *Malcolm Arnold: Rogue Genius* (London: Thames Publishing, 2004), 335.

[53] Williamson quoted in Mark Baker, "Queen's Musick Master Comes Home for Festival," *The Age*, 4 November 1975, 2.

[54] Frank Devine, "Lifetime On and Off the Stage: Maria Prerauer, Journalist," *The Australian*, 31 May 2006, 7.

towards Williamson and his music in an interview filmed during his 1975 visit to Australia and included in the BBC television documentary *Williamson Down Under* (1975):

> Congratulations, Malcolm, on becoming Master of the Queen's Music. It's actually confirmed my belief that it isn't always the best composer who becomes Master of the Queen's Music or the best poet that becomes Poet Laureate . . . as you know I have never been one of your fans . . . I feel that your work is often a miscellany of other composers' [music] – ordinary sort of "tunes" with a few wrong notes put in to make them sound more interesting . . . . Furthest below the plimsoll mark are those do-it-yourselves or do-it-yourself pieces, where you have people running around flapping their arms at dawn and being roosters or kangaroos . . . I walked out [of the performance] because I wouldn't bow down to "God" Malcolm Williamson.[55]

In the documentary, Williamson took the opportunity to respond to the criticism of the Australian press, mentioning Prerauer specifically:

> If there is anything to attack, the Australian press will attack it with a lack of compassion, with a lack of kindness, which seems to me unique . . . Maria has in print perpetually pushed me down in ways that I consider almost less than decent, I mean she has indulged in what I would consider personal attacks on my very soul.[56]

Perhaps surprisingly, Williamson did not attribute the response of the Australian press to the "Tall Poppy Syndrome," as expatriates such as Robert Hughes have been known to do, but instead he believed the negative reactions of reporters to the news of his appointment were related to the relationship between Australia and the British monarchy:

> In Australia there is a tremendous conflict between Monarchists and anti-Monarchists. Some people feel I'm a traitor to Australia for accepting this appointment [as Master of the Queen's Musick]. And many Australians look to the United States, with its non-Royalist tradition, as a kind of parent.[57]

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[55] Maria Prerauer quoted in Malcolm Williamson, *Williamson Down Under* (London: BBC2 The Lively Arts Series, 1975).
[56] Malcolm Williamson, *Williamson Down Under*.
[57] Williamson quoted in Robert Finn, "Aussie is Royal Musician," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 24 October 1975, 11.

Over the next few years, Williamson received an inordinate amount of media attention in Australia and Britain in regard to his fulfilment of the role of Master of the Queen's Music. The main issue that attracted criticism was his inability to complete two works on time for their high-profile deadlines during the Queen's Silver Jubilee year of 1977. In his excitement at being named Master of the Queen's Music, Williamson ambitiously agreed to compose a Mass, a symphony, a hymn and a children's opera in celebration of the occasion. Unfortunately, it seems that he had over-committed himself. The *Mass of Christ the King*, which was commissioned by the Three Choirs Festival and the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra and dedicated to the Queen, was due to be performed on 25 August 1977 by the Three Choirs Festival Chorus and the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by John Sanders. Williamson had completed the vocal score early, however, it had formed into a sixteen-movement, hour-long work and as the deadline for submission approached, he found it necessary to work around the clock to complete the orchestrations. A few days before the well-publicised premiere at Gloucester Cathedral, the conductor refused to accept any late additions to the score.[58] At this stage, the orchestrations for three movements of the Mass were still awaiting completion and Williamson was understandably very distressed that the work would not be performed in its entirety.[59] In an attempt to prevent criticism over his failure to finish the work, Williamson asked Sanders to stand down as conductor at the last minute so that he could conduct the complete work himself.[60] Sanders refused Williamson's request and according to press reports, shortly before the performance was due to commence, the composer was heard protesting loudly and was forcibly removed from Gloucester Cathedral by ushers, who put "half-Nelsons" on him and pushed him down the steps of the cathedral.

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[58] Roland Pullen, "Queen's Man Dragged out of Cathedral," *The Herald* (Melbourne), 27 August 1977.
[59] The movements that were omitted at the first performance were the "Gloria" from the Introductory Rite and the "Psalmus Responsorius" and "Credo" from the Liturgy of the Word. Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue."
[60] Roland Pullen, "Queen's Man Dragged out of Cathedral."

Inadvertently, Williamson had perhaps attracted more negative publicity than he otherwise would have received had he accepted Sanders' decision to perform the work in its incomplete form. The reports that appeared in British and Australian papers following the premiere focused on the controversy that surrounded the event. Melbourne's *The Herald*, for example, reported the story under the headline "Queen's Man Dragged out of Cathedral."[61] The media's sensationalised reporting of this incident shifted attention away from the fact that the music itself was generally very well received by music critics and audiences, both at its first incomplete performance and when it was premiered in its entirety the following year in the presence of the Queen Mother.[62] Following the incomplete performance in 1977, William Mann of *The Times* reported:

> It would be idle to assess *Mass of Christ the King* until it is performed complete. I can only assure those readers who spurn Williamson's simplistic music (its invention all the stronger because it has to be instantly performable) that the new mass is an elaborate composition, grand and often surprising, for all that the choral music draws on ecclesiastical traditions, especially on plainsong. It makes a jubilant and variegated noise, approachable yet demanding concentration.[63]

The other work that Williamson failed to complete in time for the Queen's Silver Jubilee was the *Jubilee Symphony*, the composer's fourth symphony, in the key of "E" for "Elizabeth." The symphony was commissioned by the London Philharmonic Orchestra and the Arts Council of Great Britain and was scheduled to be performed at the Queen's Jubilee Festival Hall concert in December 1977. The work was withdrawn from the program at the last minute, however, when it was revealed that Williamson had failed to finish one of the work's four movements and that the three existing movements were

[61] Roland Pullen, "Queen's Man Dragged out of Cathedral."
[62] The premiere of the complete work took place on 3 November 1978 at Westminster Cathedral by the Three Choirs Festival Chorus and the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Sir Charles Groves. Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue."
[63] William Mann, *The Times*, 27 August 1977.

prepared too late to be rehearsed.[64] Roy Perrott of London's *The Sunday Times* published a report of this story under the headline "The Agony of the Master of the Queen's Music," which drew attention to the inherent difficulties of being a full-time composer, however, it was accompanied by a rather insensitive caricature which implied that the composer had been struggling to write more than one note of the Symphony (see Figure 3.2).[65]

Figure 3.2 Caricature from *The Sunday Times* (London), December 1977.

Exactly the same article also appeared in Melbourne's *The Age* under the title "Gallant Master of the Queen's Music Slogs On";[66] however, the caption attached to the caricature was even more insulting than that which appeared in *The Sunday Times* (see Figure 3.3).

[64] The work still exists in three movements: "The Birth of the World," "Eagle" and "The Prayer of the Waters" and is published by Campion Press. Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue."
[65] Roy Perrott, "The Agony of the Master of the Queen's Music," *Sunday Times*, December 1977.
[66] Roy Perrott, "Gallant Master of the Queen's Music Slogs On," *The Age*, 31 December 1977, 16.

Figure 3.3 Caricature from *The Age*, 31 December 1977.

Williamson…a crisis.

Not surprisingly, Williamson was distressed that news of his inability to complete the *Jubilee Symphony* had reached Australia, as he wrote to his mother, Bessie, "[the conductor] did not even bother to rehearse the three existing movements properly . . . of course the Australian press minced me as I have learnt to expect . . . . Only bad things reach Australia, many of them untrue."[67]

The media's focus on Williamson's inability to complete these works on time greatly overshadowed the success of the other two works he composed for the Silver Jubilee. His large-scale fifty-minute children's opera *The Valley and the Hill* was completed promptly and performed on 21 June 1977 before the Queen and Prince Philip in the streets of Liverpool by seventeen thousand local children in two cathedrals, one Catholic and one Anglican, and along the connecting roads.[68] The performance was an instant success, with over thirty thousand people filling the streets to participate in the well-publicised event.

[67] Malcolm Williamson to Bessie Williamson, 10 January 1978, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson, National Library of Australia MS Acc04/159. Symphony No. 4 is still awaiting its first performance.
[68] Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue."

The day following the premiere, Williamson spoke proudly to a journalist from the *Liverpool Daily Post*:

> It was a superb performance. I could not believe the precision of it all and the quality of the organisation. I was also astonished by all the outdoor scenery. The Queen indicated to me last night during the reception how pleased she had been by the performance.[69]

The Queen was also delighted with the *Jubilee Hymn* that Williamson composed to a text by the Poet Laureate, John Betjeman.[70] The work was premiered before an audience of five thousand at the Royal Albert Hall on 6 February 1977 and was generally very well-received by the press, despite Williamson's claim that he had found the process of setting the Poet Laureate's words to music as difficult as "trying to knit with spaghetti."[71]

Although the media may have portrayed Williamson as lazy and unreliable during the Queen's Silver Jubilee year, he was in fact extremely productive. In addition to the four Silver Jubilee works mentioned above, he composed an orchestral suite entitled *The House of Windsor* for a six-part BBC series; a choral work, *This Christmas Night*, based on poems by Mary Wilson, the wife of former British Prime Minister Harold Wilson; and an organ work, *The Lion of Suffolk*, for Benjamin Britten's memorial service at Westminster Abbey.[72] The fact that he was able to produce this many works during the Silver Jubilee year is all the more remarkable considering that it coincided with a very difficult period in his personal life. By this time, his marriage of seventeen years to Dolores Daniel had dissolved and he was involved in a lengthy and somewhat difficult divorce. He had also been experiencing health problems, which were only exacerbated by his tendency to turn to

[69] Malcolm Williamson quoted in *Liverpool Daily Post*, 23 June 1977. The work was later recorded by choirs from Liverpool schools on the label Bush SSLP 126.
[70] Anthony Holden, "Genius or Master of Gimmicks?," *The Age* (Melbourne), 23 July 1977, 16.
[71] Robert Solomon, "Royalty's Favourite Outsider," *The Weekend Australian*, 21 March 1992.
[72] Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue."

alcohol in times of despair.[73] The pressures of a large work load with very little in the way of financial remuneration, as well as the criticism of the press and public, proved too much, as Williamson later reflected:

> The moment of creation is not all romantic and beautiful with lovers holding hands and walking into the twilight. It is that moment when you're searching in the black and white of the keys and having to fight poor health like an athlete . . . it became intolerable. I was being hounded about finishing the jubilee symphony. I couldn't. I thought it was my ruin and I thought indeed that I was finished.[74]

The damage caused to Williamson's reputation during the Queen's Silver Jubilee year did seem irreversible, especially when the media began to speculate that he had fallen out of favour with the British Establishment. While some people believed that the composer had "gallantly over-reached himself with the workload of Royal jubilation,"[75] others interpreted his failure to produce the two high-profile Silver Jubilee commissions as "ocker republicanism" and a "frightful snub" at the Palace.[76] Although the Queen apparently responded with "generous consideration,"[77] some members of the press meretriciously asserted that there was a rift developing between Williamson and the Royal family, as the following cartoon from *The Times* sarcastically implies (see Figure 3.4).

[73] For more information, see Papers of Malcolm Williamson, National Library of Australia MS Acc04/159.
[74] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Ann Morrow, "The Musick Maker," *The Australian*, 11 May 1978, 10.
[75] Roy Perrott, "The Agony of the Master of the Queen's Music."
[76] "Malcolm Williamson: Too Many Hot Baths Got Him into Cold Water," *The Bulletin*, 10 January 1978, 27.
[77] "Malcolm Williamson: Too Many Hot Baths Got Him into Cold Water."

Figure 3.4 Cartoon from *The Times*, December 1977.

The idea that there was a rift developing between the Royal family and the Master of the Queen's Music was further cemented in the public consciousness with reports that Williamson had pointedly not been invited to contribute to a number of important Royal occasions, beginning with the wedding of Prince Charles to Lady Diana Spencer in 1981. In the months leading up to the Royal wedding, the press announced that Prince Charles had requested Welsh composer William Mathias (1934-1992) to compose an anthem to be played during the ceremony, while the Master of the Queen's Music had been overlooked. Under the headline "Discordant Note to Royal Music," a reporter from the *Evening Standard* declared:

> Prince Charles seems to have snubbed Malcolm Williamson, the Master of the Queen's Music. I understand that Williamson has curiously not been asked to write a piece of occasional music to celebrate the Wedding in July. Although the bearer of the honorary title would normally expect to be hard at work in preparation, Williamson is singularly absent from the palace's plans . . . . Williamson's exclusion has certainly come as a surprise to the musical establishment.[78]

[78] "Discordant Note to Royal Music," *Evening Standard*, 27 April 1981. On 24 June 1981, *The People* published Williamson's response to the tittle-tattle in the press under the title "No Royal Discord:" "Malcolm Williamson is sorely displeased by reports that he has been snubbed by Prince Charles . . . . The reports, he

What the press failed to realise or reveal, however, is that the bearer of the title "Master of the Queen's Music" is a member of the Queen's Royal Household, not of the Household of the Prince of Wales. The appointment carries "no fixed duties" and no salary, only an annual honorarium of £100. Consequently, Williamson would not have been expected to compose a work for this occasion. It was also entirely appropriate that Prince Charles, as the Prince of Wales, should request a Welsh composer to write a work in honour of the occasion, particularly one who was well-known for writing church music. The press not only overlooked these facts, but also neglected to report that an Aria and a Toccata from Williamson's *Symphony for Organ* (1960) were actually performed at St Paul's Cathedral on this very occasion.[79] In addition, Williamson composed a new piece as a gift for the Royal couple, a work for soloists and choir entitled *Now is the Singing Day* (1981).[80] In reality, no slight to Williamson was given or intended, however, the facts surrounding the event were conveniently ignored by members of the press, who were more intent on fabricating a rift between Williamson and the Royal family in order to attract public interest and sell papers.

From 1988, Williamson suffered a series of debilitating strokes which left him with impaired use of his hands and slightly slurred speech. While his deteriorating health was clearly the underlying reason behind his inability to meet several high-profile deadlines, the press showed little understanding or compassion. In 1991 he made headlines for failing to complete a flute concerto in time for its scheduled premiere at the Proms by James Galway. Michael White of the *Independent on Sunday* responded with a scathing

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says, that his nose was put out of joint are simply not true . . . . Mr Williamson said; 'I knew what the music for the wedding was to be long before it was announced, and I approved fully of the arrangement. Some hurtful things have been said about myself and John Betjeman being left out of the arrangements, but as appointees of the Queen's Royal Household it is impossible to reply to them publicly.'"

[79] Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue." Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal conversation, 29 June 2006.

[80] *Now is the Singing Day* is scored for baritone and mezzo-soprano soli, SATB chorus, strings, piano four hands and percussion (or keyboard alone) and is based on texts from *The Song of Songs*, translated by Rabbi Albert Friedlander. It was first performed at Leeds Town Hall in June 1981.

report under the heading "Composer Noted for the Sound of Silence," which was accompanied by the following provocative cartoon (see Figure 3.5).

Figure 3.5 Cartoon from *Independent on Sunday*, 5 May 1991.

"Even Schubert finished some pieces"

In later years, Williamson achieved greater recognition for his outspoken and controversial comments, rather than his music. In 1987, he reportedly described Margaret Thatcher as a "stupid, mindless philistine" and a "bitch" because of her lack of support for the arts in Britain, which prompted one British Member of Parliament to call for Williamson's immediate dismissal from the post of Master of the Queen's Music.[81] In 1992, Williamson again made headlines for launching a verbal attack on British musical theatre composer Andrew Lloyd Webber. Lloyd Webber's music had been selected as the highlight of a televised pageant to mark the Queen's fortieth year as monarch, while the Master of the Queen's Music had apparently been "publicly snubbed."[82] According to *The Sunday Times*, a spokesperson from the palace had allegedly stated, "We just forgot about Mr Williamson . . . he's not really at the forefront of people's consciousness,"[83] which further

[81] This call came from the conservative MP Mr Terry Dicks, who also added, "Since he is an Australian he should take the first available Qantas flight out and join his demented cricket team." "Royal Musician Hits Harsh Note," *The Australian*, 26 January 1987. According to the *Daily Mirror*, Williamson also called Thatcher a "snake." "Maggie's a Snake, Says Queen's Man," *Daily Mirror*, 24 January 1987.
[82] Ava Hubble, "By Appointment to Her Majesty," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 February 1994.
[83] *Sunday Times*, 19 January 1992.

fuelled media speculation that a rift had developed between Williamson and the Royal family.

Understandably upset and disappointed by these reports, Williamson reportedly retaliated by describing Lloyd Webber's music as "extremely poor melodically and harmonically extremely crude" and declaring, "Lloyd Webber's music is everywhere, but then so is AIDS . . . I'm not an athlete but I would run a hundred miles rather than listen to *Cats*."[84] According to the report, he even went so far as to remark: "The difference between good music and Lloyd Webber's is the difference between Michelangelo and a cement-mixer . . . but the comparison breaks down to an extent that there is an element of creativity in a cement-mixer."[85] Although Williamson insisted that he had been "wildly misquoted" by the Australian journalist who had interviewed him[86] and later described Lloyd Webber's music as "immortal,"[87] it seems the damage to his reputation had already been done. He was accused of professional jealousy and became something of an easy target for the media, which seized every opportunity to calumniate him through unsympathetic and often erroneous reporting.

The articles printed in Australian papers were particularly vitriolic at times, as the following excerpt from *The West Australian* demonstrates:

> It could be argued that Australian composer Malcolm Williamson has created more cacophonies than symphonies in his 16-year tenure as Master of the Queen's Music . . . . While there are many who share these sentiments [about Andrew Lloyd

[84] "Choice of Music for Queen's Anniversary Strikes Sour Note with Her Composer," *Canberra Times*, 31 January 1992, 16.
[85] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 January 1992.
[86] Ava Hubble, "By Appointment to Her Majesty." Williamson claimed that his comments were taken out of context by some "silly girl" who asked him why his music was not as popular as that of Lloyd Webber. According to Williamson, the reporter exited from the *Sunday Times* shortly after his complaint. Sarah Harris, "Queen's Composer Still Maintains Political Rage."
[87] Williamson changed his opinion after attending a performance of *Sunset Boulevard* in August 1993. Rebecca Fowler, "Lloyd Webber's Harshest Critic Changes His Tune," *Sunday Times*, 15 August 1993. The same report also appeared in *The Australian*: Rebecca Fowler, "Praise is Music to Lloyd Webber's Ears," *The Australian*, 20 August 1993.

> Webber's music], it is rather silly to make such a fuss given that the pageant line-up has not been decided and Williamson probably would not complete a commission in time even if he was invited to.[88]

The media gained further mileage out of the Andrew Lloyd Webber fiasco several months later when it was revealed that Williamson was a fan of the music of pop star Michael Jackson. According to a report in *Today*, Williamson believed Jackson's music had a "superb quality" and supported the pop-star's claim that God had made him as great as Tchaikovsky.[89] The same report also made reference to the composer's previous comments about Lloyd Webber's music, claiming in its sub-heading "Queen's Music Chief May Not Like Webber but Loves Jacko," in order to suggest that Williamson's judgement was flawed.

Williamson's capacity for critical judgement was again called into question in the 1996, when he reportedly described the music of his late friend and mentor, Benjamin Britten, as "ephemeral . . . it will not last."[90] According to an article that appeared in the *Daily Mail* under the eye-catching headline, "Was Our Greatest Modern Composer a Paedophile; Battle of Britten's Reputation as Protégé Launches Astonishing Attack," Williamson made the criticism of Britten personal, claiming he "was a friend . . . a backstabber too," and labelling him a "paedophile."[91]

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[88] "Upmarket Minstrel with a Mastery of the Slow Delivery," *The West Australian*, 27 January 1992.
[89] Liz Moore, "There's Nothing Pathétique about Michael Jackson's Bid to be the New Tchaikovsky," *Today*, 29 April 1992.
[90] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Geoffrey Levy, "Was Our Greatest Modern Composer a Paedophile; Battle of Britten's Reputation as Protégé Launches Astonishing Attack," *Daily Mail*, 27 July 1996, 17. An account of this story also appears in Dermot Clinch, "Off With His Head! A Modest Proposal for the Master of the Queen's Music – Malcolm Williamson," *New Statesman* (6 September 1996): 38-41.
[91] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Geoffrey Levy, 17.

During the final decade of Williamson's life, the media portrayed him as an outsider from the Royal Family, from Britain and from Australia.[92] Even in his death, the supposed rift between the Master of the Queen's Music and the Royal Family was the focus. His obituary in *The Guardian*, for example, carried the title "Controversial Composer out of Tune with the Establishment."[93] The first biography of Williamson, *Malcolm Williamson: A Mischievous Muse* by British authors Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris,[94] also focuses rather scurrilously on the controversies that surrounded the latter years of the composer's life, as discussed previously in Chapter 1. Additionally, many reviews and articles on the book tend to sensationalise its content further, under damaging and misleading headlines such as "Disaster of the Queen's Music,"[95] "Master of No Musick"[96] and "A Very Public Embarrassment."[97]

Surprisingly, the media rarely mentioned Williamson's homosexuality and usually only when the composer had exhibited it publicly, such as when he allegedly arrived at a Palace event wearing a Jewish skullcap, a large pectoral cross around his neck and a badge announcing "I Am Gay."[98] Generally, the British press seems to have been more preoccupied with Williamson's public outbursts and his suitability for the role of Master of the Queen's Music, while members of the Australian press were more interested in whether or not he was a model Australian. Ultimately, the criticism Williamson received from the British and Australian press overshadowed the substantial contribution he made to music in both countries during his lifetime.

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[92] Williamson's old school friend Robert Solomon wrote an article for *The Weekend Australian* under the title "Royalty's Favourite Outsider," which was published on 21 March 1992, as referenced previously.
[93] Tim McDonald, "Controversial Composer Out of Tune with the Establishment," *The Guardian*, 4 March 2003.
[94] Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, *Malcolm Williamson: A Mischievous Muse* (London: Omnibus Press, 2007).
[95] Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, "Disaster of the Queen's Music," *BBC Music Magazine* (November 2006): 54-57.
[96] Norman Lebrecht, "The Lebrecht Weekly," 19 September 2007, available from http://www.scena.org/columns/lebrecht/070910-NL-master.html; Internet; accessed 4 October 2007.
[97] Roger Lewis, *Daily Telegraph*, 3 November 2007, 25.
[98] Michael Church, "A Composer Fit For a Queen," *The Independent Review*, 11 February 2004.

Although Williamson was accused of treating the post of Master of the Queen's Music merely as a sinecure, in reality, he actually composed more works for the Royal family than many of his predecessors.[99] Figure 3.6 lists the works Williamson composed for Royal occasions during his tenure as Master of the Queen's Music.

Figure 3.6 Williamson's "Royal" Compositions.

Year	Composition	Publisher	Royal Connection
1977	*The Valley and the Hill* for voices (SSA), audience and orchestra or piano	Campion Press	Cassation dedicated to Queen Elizabeth II. Premiered 21 June 1977 in streets of Liverpool in the presence of the Queen and Prince Philip.
1977	*Jubilee Hymn* for unison chorus, SATB chorus and orchestra/piano	Josef Weinberger	Poem by Sir John Betjeman (Poet Laureate). Written for the Queen's Silver Jubilee.
1977	Symphony No. 4 for orchestra	Campion Press	Composed "on E" for "Elizabeth" and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth II. Silver Jubilee work.
1977	*The House of Windsor – Orchestral Suite*	Campion Press	BBC studio recording for 6-part series for Radio 3 to script by Frances Donaldson. In 7 movements: "Fanfare," "Windsor at Dawn," "Waltz of the Royal Princesses," "A Solemn Occasion," "Fanfare II," "March of the Household Cavalry" and "The Queen at Westminster."
1978	*National Anthem* for SATB chorus and full orchestra	Josef Weinberger	Premiered on 6 July 1979 at The Queen's Hall, Edinburgh, in the presence of the Queen.[100]
1975-1978	*Mass of Christ the King* for lyric soprano, dramatic soprano, tenor, baritone, echo choir, SATB chorus and orchestra	Josef Weinberger	Dedicated to Queen Elizabeth II. First performed 25 August 1977 (incomplete) and premiered 3 November 1978 at Westminster Cathedral in the presence of the Queen Mother.
1979	*Songs for a Royal Baby* for solo SATB or chorus and string Orchestra	Campion Press	6 songs to poems by Mary Wilson dedicated to grandchildren of Queen Elizabeth II: "Morning Song," "The Rocking-horse," "Banbury Cross," "Pram Ride," "Bath Time" and "Cradle Song."[101]
1977-1980	*Mass of St Margaret of Scotland* for congregation, optional SATB choir and organ	Josef Weinberger	Dedicated to Princess Margaret.
1980	*Ode for Queen Elizabeth* for string orchestra	Josef Weinberger	Dedicated to the Queen Mother. In the key of "E" for "Elizabeth." Consists of 5 movements: "Act of Homage," "Alleluia," "Ecossaise," "Majesty in Beauty" and "Scottish Dance." Premiered 3 July 1980 at Palace of Holyrood House, Edinburgh, in the presence of the Royal Family.[102]

[99] A decline in productivity was common among all previous Masters of the Royal Music, as many were not appointed until they were over fifty years of age (Sir Walter Parratt was appointed at age 52, Sir Edward Elgar at age 67, Sir Walford Davies at 65, Sir Arnold Bax at 59 and Sir Arthur Bliss at age 62).

[100] The *National Anthem* was premiered by the Scottish Baroque Ensemble and Scottish Chamber Orchestra, conducted by the composer. Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue."

[101] *Songs for a Royal Baby* was first performed on 18 May 1985 at the Royston Arts Festival. The first performance for chorus and orchestra took place on 25 January 1986 at Chapter House, Canterbury Cathedral by the University of Kent Chamber Choir and Orchestra, conducted by Andrew Fardell. Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue."

[102] *Ode for Queen Elizabeth* was commissioned by the Scottish Baroque Ensemble with funds from the Johnson Wax Arts Foundation and the Scottish Arts Council. The first performance was given by the

1980	*Lament in Memory of Lord Mountbatten of Burma* for violin and string orchestra	Josef Weinberger	Written in memory of Lord Mountbatten of Burma, uncle of Prince Philip. Premiered on 5 May 1980, Queen's Hall, Edinburgh.[103]
1981	*Now is the Singing Day* for baritone and mezzo-soprano soli, SATB chorus, strings, piano four hands and percussion	Campion Press	Composed as a wedding gift for Prince Charles and Princess Diana based on a text from *The Song of Songs*, translated by Rabbi Albert Friedlander.
1987	*Galilee* for SATB chorus	Campion Press	Premiered by choristers from the choirs of Westminster Abbey, St Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Cathedral and Her Majesty's Chapel Royal, Windsor, and the brass and timpani ensemble of the Royal Military School of Music.
1988	*Fanfare of Homage* for military Band	Campion Press	Premiered at Hampton Court Palace by the Band of the Irish Guards to celebrate the 40th wedding anniversary of the Queen and Prince Philip.[104]
1988	*Bicentennial Anthem* for orchestra	Campion Press	Dedicated to Princess Alexandra and premiered at the Australian Bicentennial Royal Gala Concert.

The media's fabrication of a rift between Williamson and the Royal family and its disproportionate focus on his alleged personal problems had significant implications for Williamson's professional and private life. On many occasions he declined to comment on press reports publicly, which only encouraged media speculation. When he did respond, his statements were often directed at the Australian press, whom he believed took particular delight in vilifying his character. In interviews conducted in 1981, he reflected:

> I've had more abuse from the Australian critics than the British . . . and I don't like the puritan attitude that exists here that I should come home and take my medicine like a naughty boy.[105]

> There is a simple malice which is an Australian speciality. It is particularly directed at non-conformists . . . [including] those . . . who receive acclaim abroad . . . . Australia kills its great. It also kills its solitaries.[106]

Scottish Baroque Ensemble, led by the composer. The public premiere was given on 25 August 1980 at Hopetoun House, Edinburgh, by the Scottish Baroque Ensemble, led by Leonard Friedman. Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue."

[103] *Lament in Memory of Lord Mountbatten of Burma* was dedicated to and premiered by the Scottish Baroque Ensemble and Leonard Friedman. Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue."

[104] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 18 December 2007.

[105] "Composer Williamson Back for Keeps," *The Courier-Mail* (Brisbane), 9 October 1981, 2.

[106] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Phillip Sommerich, "The Music Master," *The National Times*, June 28-July 4 1981, 36. In 1986, after Williamson had read a negative report about himself and his music in an Australian newspaper, he wrote to his mother, Bessie, "I thought thank God that I don't live in Australia. Not that music critics here are exactly Einsteins, but they don't sink below a certain level, and their Aussie

It is significant that Williamson identified himself as a "non-conformist" and a "solitary," considering that these ideas are recurring themes in the plots of many of his stage works. For example, the scenarios of the ballets *The Display* (1964) and *Sun Into Darkness* (1966) and the plot of the large-scale opera *The Violins of Saint-Jacques* (1966) are centred around a solitary figure and the chamber opera *English Eccentrics* (1963-64) focuses on a number of eccentric characters who according to Williamson, "are all ultimately unacceptable to others."[107]

Williamson's preoccupation with these themes suggests that he viewed himself as something of an "outsider" in mainstream society and in later years, he was certainly perceived as such by the press and public. In Britain, he was viewed as an outsider in an established musical society that expected consistency and conservatism and in Australia there was often the sense that he had abandoned his native country, and was something of a traitor and an "ex-patriot." The strong British accent that he assimilated in later years was also inconsistent with his overt declarations of Australian identity. Perhaps, like other successful Australian expatriates, he had become too cosmopolitan, too universal, to "fit in" anywhere. In many ways, the sheer diversity of his output, from the major operatic and orchestral works to the simple, inclusive pieces for children and audience participation, demonstrates his commitment to composing music that was accessible and useful to a wide audience and also reveals his personal desire, as an outsider from society, to gain acceptance.

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confreres never seem to rise to that level except in terms of pretension. There is also an unacceptable degree of malice, which, if it exists in Europe and North America, is at least heavily disguised." Malcolm Williamson, Hertfordshire, to Bessie Williamson, Australia, 2 November 1986, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson, National Library of Australia MS Acc04/159.

[107] Malcolm Williamson quoted in *Radio Times*, 4 June 1964. *Sun Into Darkness* and *The Violins of Saint-Jacques* are published by Josef Weinberger. *English Eccentrics* is published by Campion Press. The themes of isolation and segregation from society also recur in the works of other Australian creative artists, including the ballets of Robert Helpmann, the paintings of Russell Drysdale (such as *The Drover's Wife*, 1945) and the compositions of Peter Sculthorpe (including *The Loneliness of Bunjil*, 1955, and the *Irkanda* series, 1955-61) and can perhaps be attributed to the geographical and cultural isolation of Australia, as well as the position of the artist as an outsider in Australian society.

The sense of isolation and exile that Williamson experienced was also felt by other expatriate creative artists, as explored in Chapter 2, and can be viewed as part and parcel of the expatriate experience. For Williamson, however, this feeling was magnified by the intense scrutiny and criticism to which he was subjected from the mid-1950s onwards. Although he had fuelled much of the media speculation and criticism himself by expressing his controversial views publicly and in a forthright manner, it is clear from his comments in interviews and personal correspondence that he did not expect journalists to respond by launching written attacks on his character and work ethic and by publishing salacious gossip about his private life. He was particularly affected by the behaviour of the Australian press because throughout his time abroad he had continued to feel such a strong personal attachment to the land of his birth. He had also made a considerable effort to maintain a relationship with Australia by making return visits, declaring his loyalty to his homeland in interviews with the press, and writing compositions in honour of Australia, for performance in Australia and based on Australian subjects and/or texts. Williamson not only projected an Australian identity because he was proud to be an Australian, as he had announced on so many occasions, but because embracing this nationality gave him the sense that he had a place to call "home," a place to belong, and this helped to counteract the overwhelming feelings of isolation and statelessness associated with the expatriate experience.

Williamson regularly spoke about the concept of an Australian musical identity, which he believed derived from "a certain extrovert aggressiveness in the Australian personality which manifests itself in the music,"[108] as discussed earlier, and he aligned his own music with the emerging Australian tradition. He frequently compared himself to Australian composers living in Australia, and believed that his experience as an expatriate had given

[108] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Jill Sykes, "Music Ambassador," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 August 1973, 7.

him greater perspective on his Australian identity and the Australianness of his music, as the following statement from 1972 implies:

> I think my music is at least as Australian as that of any other Australian composer, partly because I live outside the country and have an enormous preoccupation with it. On the other hand, I have noticed again and again that Australian composers living in Australia write with a sort of exoticism that suggests a fascination with other countries. There seems to be in their work a very strong desire to escape, at least mentally and spiritually.[109]

The idea that exile could sharpen one's perspective of Australia was an idea also expressed by other expatriates, including David Lumsdaine and Sidney Nolan (as addressed in Chapter 2), and in some ways, was another justification for the decision to remain abroad. In fact, Williamson's declarations of Australian identity were often accompanied by phrases that justified his choice to remain an expatriate, revealing a true ambivalence that was not atypical of expatriates.[110] This is obvious in the following statement which Williamson made in 1996:

> I love [Australia]! But every child gets to a stage when he/she resents his mother's womb and wants to be independent . . . [my music is] absolutely Australian in attitude . . . because it's like there's something in the Australian attitude where you push through doors marked "pull."[111]

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[109] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Peter Cole Adams, 1972, 10. On one occasion, Williamson spoke about Peter Sculthorpe's choice to live in Australia, stating "The circumstances of [Sculthorpe's] life have so placed him that he can live wherever in the world he chooses but he has an uncontrollable, permanent love affair with elemental Australia. A composer cannot be praised or criticised for loving or rejecting the land of his birth. What is praiseworthy about Sculthorpe is his acceptance of the liabilities of musical life in Australia and yet he has made for himself what the Australian poet, James McAuley, has called a 'mythical Australia.'" Malcolm Williamson, "How Australian Can Australian Music Become?"

[110] The ambiguity of Williamson's cultural identity was also obvious in the way that he was perceived by critics. While some critics, such as Ernest Bradbury, believed Williamson was "universally regarded as an English composer," most others categorised him as "Australian," or at least "Australian-born." Ernest Bradbury, "Master Class," *Yorkshire Post*, no date given, available from Josef Weinberger archive, London; accessed 26 June 2006.

[111] Malcolm Williamson, "Composer Malcolm Williamson: A Conversation with Bruce Duffie," interview by Bruce Duffie, 18 October 1996; transcript available from http://www.kcstudio/williamson2html; Internet; accessed 7 June 2007.

According to his partner of nearly thirty years, Simon Campion, Williamson could also be something of a "chameleon" and would often say what he thought others wanted to hear, perhaps in order to "fit in." Additionally, Campion has admitted that Williamson was "enthusiastically Australian . . . he constantly talked about Australia and loved nothing more than coming home, but with a return ticket in his pocket."[112] Williamson made a similar comment to this in an interview with American radio personality Bruce Duffie in 1996, in which he stated, "Australia certainly is in my blood . . . Australian vegetation, Australian sunlight . . . they'll always be there, I think . . . but I still have nightmares that I am stuck in Australia without an exit ticket."[113]

Despite these comments and the feeling that Australia had "rejected" him,[114] Williamson often expressed a wish to return to Australia permanently, particularly in letters to his family. In July 1984 he wrote to his mother:

> My nostalgia for Australia becomes greater and greater. It is 34 years since I came to UK for career reasons, and I often think that I've made as much a career in music as I'm likely to make. The MQM appointment is the highest thing that this land can give me. I have written a huge amount of music, much of which is published & recorded. Life seems to be more of the same. I have commissions stretching into 1986, and I work hard at writing music . . . I feel that for the future, as and when, I'd like to enjoy life in the climate of my own country. All the romance of the YE OLDE has gone. The two reasons for living here are (i) Buckingham Palace, and (ii) the fact that London is the centre of the musical world. On the other hand, I wrote my best music in recent times in Sydney, Melbourne & Canberra, and felt the most sublime freedom & relaxation . . . . A composer's life is never really secure, but to have a home of one's own would be a comfort, and should I be able to

[112] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal conversation, 9 July 2006.
[113] Malcolm Williamson quoted in "Composer Malcolm Williamson: A Conversation with Bruce Duffie."
[114] In an interview for the *Musical Times* in 1991, Williamson stated, "Australia has rejected me in the way that – flavours of the month or, because Australia is so pedestrian, flavours of the year – had taken over." Williamson quoted in Chris de Souza, "The Right Question," *The Musical Times* 132: 1785 (November 1991): 563.

> acquire a house I'd rather it be in Australia . . . [I want to] write music in a part of the world that I love.[115]

The significant number of works that Williamson composed with Australian themes during the 1980s also indicates that he was looking to Australia for creative inspiration and considering a return.[116] During the late 1950s and 1960s, Williamson's most successful period in Britain, he had written relatively few works for Australia, and even fewer works that expressed an Australian identity convincingly. As his popularity in Britain began to decline in the late 1970s, however, after he missed deadlines for a number of high-profile commissions, his creative focus returned to Australia and Australian themes. Although he seemed keen to escape from the "maelstrom of artistic friction"[117] in London, there were also negative implications to consider before he made plans to repatriate to Australia, as he informed his mother:

> A trouble with being in Australia is that the rest of the world is not interested in what happens there. This doesn't matter except for a composer it is reputation and sales of music that make the income.[118]

He also acknowledged that returning to Australia would require a strength that he admired in figures such as Patrick White, Robert Helpmann and Joan Sutherland, but did not feel that he possessed.[119] Eventually, in 1997, Williamson and his partner Simon Campion made the decision to return to Australia, however, shortly afterwards, Williamson suffered

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[115] Malcolm Williamson to Bessie Williamson, 14 July 1984, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson, National Library of Australia MS Acc04/159.
[116] See Appendix A for a list of Williamson's "Australian" compositions.
[117] Malcolm Williamson to Bessie Williamson, 14 July 1984, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson, National Library of Australia MS Acc04/159.
[118] Malcolm Williamson to Bessie Williamson, 4 September 1983, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson, National Library of Australia MS Acc04/159. There were a number of other factors that made returning to Australia difficult. In addition to professional ties, such as the Master of the Queen's Music appointment and the publishing business Campion Press, Williamson's children were based in the northern hemisphere. The close proximity of London to Europe and America also made it easier to source commissions and attend performances of his music.
[119] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Phillip Sommerich, 36. In 1967 he had admitted, "I feel I have not the strength of character to live in Australia. This is a criticism of myself not of Australia . . . I feel it's beyond by powers to live where I am not loved . . . ." Malcolm Williamson, "Conversation with Malcolm Williamson."

a stroke so severe that it made the move impossible and, after fifty years living in Britain, he died in his adopted country on 2 March 2003.[120]

Williamson's expatriate experience is relatively typical when considered alongside those of other high-profile Australian creative artists who have lived and worked in London. Like each of the expatriates mentioned in Chapter 2, Williamson left Australia because of a lack of professional opportunities available in the arts at home and due to the expectation that it was essential to gain an imprimatur from London in order to be recognised as a successful creative artist in Australia. The overwhelming sense of inferiority that he experienced as a "colonial"[121] in London was something he shared in common with many other Australian expatriates, including Eileen Joyce, Manning Clark, Joan Sutherland, Murray Sayle and Robert Hughes. Like other successful Australian expatriate creative artists, Williamson made many return visits to his homeland, during which he was hounded by the press and subjected to the same degree of personal criticism as other outspoken "Tall Poppies," such as Nellie Melba, Percy Grainger, Joan Sutherland, Robert Hughes, Barry Humphries and Germaine Greer, to name but a few. The hostility that Williamson encountered during return visits left him feeling like an outsider in Australian society; yet, simultaneously, he did not feel as though he really belonged in Britain, because he had not been born or raised there. A similar sense of statelessness was also expressed by Eileen Joyce, Charles Mackerras, Barry Tuckwell, Jill Neville, Peter Porter, Germaine Greer, Robert Hughes, Barry Humphries and David Lumsdaine, which suggests that Williamson's experience was greatly affected by the prevailing zeitgeist and cultural attitudes towards Australian expatriates. Like most of the expatriates mentioned in Chapter 2, however, Williamson continued to consider himself an Australian and projected a distinctively Australian identity in his verbal remarks and his creative work.

[120] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal conversation, 13 December 2007.
[121] Malcolm Williamson, "Conversation with Malcolm Williamson."

Williamson's character traits also closely resembled those of other Australian expatriate creative artists. He was outspoken, forthright and something of a chameleon, changing his viewpoint to suit the given circumstances, not unlike Melba, Grainger and Joyce. In addition, he adopted an egalitarian attitude towards the arts that was similar to the inclusive philosophies expounded by the same three figures, as well as Joan Sutherland and Peter Porter. All of these traits have previously been recognised as characteristically Australian, as discussed earlier. Another quality that Williamson shared in common with other Australian expatriate creative artists was a complete disregard for Australia's sporting culture. Like Barry Humphries,[122] Joan Sutherland, Charles Mackerras, Don Banks and Robert Hughes, Williamson felt like an outsider on the sporting field and this continued to have a negative impact upon his sense of self long after he had left Australia for England, as he once admitted:

> In Australia I could never win. I was a total failure. I loathe competitive sports and the boarding school I was at, which was very fine in its own way, regarded competitive sports as an indication of manhood. It's so stupid I had, and still have, this fear of being put on a football field . . . to this day I hate Saturday afternoon more than anything, for that is the time for sport . . . . It has left me with a deep-rooted feeling of guilt that I'm opting out . . . .[123]

Williamson's life story shares some remarkable similarities with one of the expatriates mentioned in Chapter 2 in particular, David Lumsdaine. Both of these composers were born in Sydney in 1931 and completed degrees in the city of their birth before leaving Australia to settle in London permanently in 1953.[124] Lumsdaine, like Williamson, composed many works based on Australian subjects and/or with Australian titles to fulfil

[122] Humphries described the experience of being forced to play football as a student at Melbourne Church of England Grammar school as like a "nightmare." Peter Coleman, *The Real Barry Humphries* (London: Robson Books, 1990), 22.
[123] Malcolm Williamson, unreferenced interview from 1973 printed in Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 22. Joan Sutherland's experience was also typical: "I grew up quite happily in Sydney. I was never a very sporty sort of person, although at school we were forced into it because it was the Australian way of life. I wasn't an outdoors person but certain things we had to do at school I had to suffer. I was more interested in musical life . . . ." Joan Sutherland quoted in Brian Adams, *La Stupenda* (Melbourne: Hutchinson, 1980), 29.
[124] Lumsdaine was born less than a month before Williamson, on 31 October 1931.

commissions from Australian organisations and ensembles. Both composers incorporated birdsong into some of the works they composed for Australia and generally, their compositions show a preoccupation with humanitarian issues. While most performances of Lumsdaine's music received optimistic reviews, performances of his works have been on a steady decline since the late 1970s, when like Williamson, he decided to take over responsibility for the publishing, printing and promoting of his music himself.[125]

As the above discussion has revealed, Williamson's journey was typical of the expatriate experience in several ways; however, the obstacles that many expatriates faced were somewhat intensified for Williamson due to the high level of status he achieved in Britain during his first two and a half decades abroad, the lack of recognition he received in Australia, his capacity for arousing controversy, and his tumultuous relationship with the British and Australian press. The level of criticism Williamson received in the latter years of his life was directly proportional to the degree of success he had achieved in earlier years and both extremes would have been unlikely had he remained resident in Australia. His expatriate status made him a target for criticism in both Australia and Britain, yet also enabled him to become one of the most productive and successful Australian composers of his generation and allowed him a unique opportunity to raise the profile of Australian composers and Australian music overseas; a responsibility that he embraced wholeheartedly.

This chapter has shown that Williamson's expatriate experience impacted upon his sense of national identity and has provided numerous examples in the form of quotations that illustrate how and why he expressed an Australian identity through his persona and musical output. The following chapters, Chapter 4 through to Chapter 7, will explore in

[125] Michael Hall, *Between Two Worlds: The Music of David Lumsdaine* (Todmorden: Arc Music, 2003), 8.

detail the various ways through which Williamson projected an Australian identity in the works he composed for Australia, starting in Chapter 4 with several small-scale pieces written in the early 1960s. Although the composer's life and career have attracted much public attention in the past, it is his music, recorded and performed, that is Malcolm Williamson's enduring legacy and the following chapters will contribute significantly to the current body of knowledge that exists on the compositions he produced for Australia and the overall contribution that he made to music in his homeland.

Chapter Four

The "Australian" Compositions, 1960-1963

Williamson composed the first series of works inspired by his native Australia almost a decade after leaving the country to establish his career in London. He had waited several years to turn to Australian themes in his music and indeed, to make a return visit, because he had wanted to learn all that he could about the music of other countries first. As he later admitted, "I want[ed] to drench myself in all that's British, American, and mainland European, and go back with it to Australia, which eventually I did, many times, in fact, now."[1] The first works he composed based on Australian subjects or texts include the *Sydney* volume of *Travel Diaries* (1960-61) for solo piano, and three works for voice with texts by the Australian poet, James McAuley, *Symphony for Voices* (1960-62), *Celebration of Divine Love* (1963) and *An Australian Carol* (*Nativity*) (1963). These works reflect Williamson's philosophy of inclusiveness rather than exclusivity, which has been identified in previous chapters as an Australian trait, and collectively they make the first tangible overtures to embracing a sense of musical identity shaped by his homeland and mediated by British and European influences. This chapter will examine the ways in which Williamson created a nexus between these works and a sense of Australia in order to show that his projection of an Australian identity at this time was conscious and intentional, despite his claim a few years later that his music was "characteristically Australian although [he had] never tried to make it so."[2]

The *Sydney* volume of *Travel Diaries: Impressions of Famous Cities for Pianoforte* was the first work that Williamson composed with obvious links to Australia through its titles

[1] Malcolm Williamson quoted in "Composer Malcolm Williamson: A Conversation with Bruce Duffie," interview by Bruce Duffie, 18 October 1996; transcript available from http://www.kcstudio/williamson2html; Internet; accessed 7 June 2007.
[2] Malcolm Williamson, "A Composer's Heritage," *Composer* (Spring 1966): 71.

and subtitles and through its musical materials. He completed the five volumes of *Travel Diaries* during the early 1960s, when his career as a pianist was at its height. He had already produced a number of works for the piano, such as the unpublished *Two Part Invention for Piano* (1947), the *Variations for Piano* (1953), the first three piano sonatas (1955-56, 1957 and 1958, respectively), as well as a series of concertante works for piano and orchestra, including the Piano Concerto No. 2 (1960), which was a prizewinning work in a competition for Australian and New Zealand composers sponsored by the Department of Music and the Choral Society of the University of Western Australia.[3] It is not surprising, therefore, that Williamson's first recognisably "Australian" work, the *Sydney* book of *Travel Diaries*, was also written for the piano.

The five books of *Travel Diaries* were published in 1962 as part of Chappell's Music for Education series and were among the first contributions Williamson made to educational music. Each book is named after a famous city: *Sydney*, *Naples*, *London*, *Paris* and *New York* respectively, and consists of between six and thirteen brief pieces in a continuum from the rudimentary in the first book, *Sydney*, to the virtuosic in the fifth book, *New York*. Each volume explores a diverse range of musical, stylistic and technical elements that are intended to develop the amateur pianist's technique and general musicianship and the pedagogical intent of each piece is noted in an explanatory key provided at the beginning of each book. This key gives a brief overview of the technical purpose of each piece, offers suggestions for dynamic expression and, most importantly, relates pieces in one book to those in another.[4] The inclusion of this auxiliary material is one manifestation of

[3] The Piano Concerto No. 2 for piano and string orchestra in F sharp minor was premiered on 3 May 1962 at the University of Western Australia by Michael Brimer and the University of Western Australia String Orchestra, conducted by Frank Callaway. The work is in three movements: "Allegro con brio," "Andante lento" and "Allegro con spirit" and is approximately sixteen minutes in duration. The score is published by Boosey & Hawkes. Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue" (Hertfordshire: Campion Press, 2008), 19-20.

[4] Malcolm Williamson, *Travel Diaries: Sydney* (London: Chappell, 1962).

Williamson's educative philosophy. Significantly, the pieces are appropriate for pianists of all ages to explore and perform, as critic John Lade has observed:

> Here at last is a composer who can provide really worthwhile music for students. There is no "writing down" . . . . Many of the pieces are without a fixed key-centre, yet they all make sense, and offer scope not merely for technical progress but for musical development as well . . . this is a most stimulating collection which will appeal both to children and also to grown-ups who feel the need to improve their technique and at the same time widen their musical vocabulary.[5]

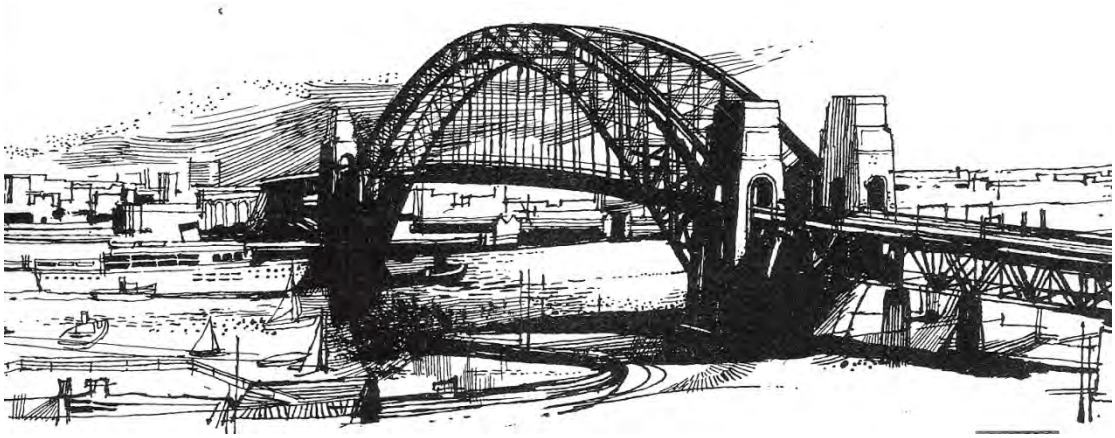
Williamson's dedication to writing educational music for children and adults alike reflected his belief in the importance of making music accessible to "everyone." As explained in Chapters 2 and 3, this inclusive, egalitarian attitude was an Australian social ideal, and in addition, the composer's commitment to *Gebrauchsmusik* can be viewed as a response to his intrinsic desire as an expatriate to be accepted and valued as a member of society. In other words, Williamson's inclusive philosophy was a product of both his Australian heritage and his experience as an expatriate.[6]

Programmatically, the complete collection of *Travel Diaries* follows Williamson's journey as an Australian abroad, beginning with pieces that explore the sights of his home city of Sydney in the first book, and continuing in the following four books with pieces that reflect the nomadic lifestyle of a composer who was based in London, but relied on travelling across Europe and America to fulfil commissions and to attend performances of his works. The individual pieces within each book of *Travel Diaries* carry descriptive titles that identify specific landscapes, monuments or characteristics peculiar to that city, such as "Harbour Bridge" in the *Sydney* book, and the front cover of each volume further aids the imagination in its depiction of an iconic scene from its respective city, such as the

[5] John Lade, "Williamson Travels," *The Musical Times* (December, 1962): 858.
[6] It was also a sound commercial strategy.

illustration of the Sydney Harbour Bridge that appears on the front cover of the *Sydney* book (see Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1 Illustration of Sydney Harbour Bridge from *Travel Diaries, Sydney.*[7]



While the programmatic idea behind the *Travel Diaries* may have derived from Williamson's personal travel experiences, including his memories of his hometown of Sydney, the programmatic concept and the music itself also show the influence of his exposure to the music and ideas of European composers. For example, Williamson's friend and mentor Benjamin Britten composed a series of character pieces for solo piano in 1934 entitled *Holiday Diary* Op. 5.[8] Britten's *Holiday Diary* consists of four pieces with fanciful titles – "Early Morning Bathe," "Sailing," "Funfair" and "Night" – and shares similar musical and programmatic ideas to Williamson's *Travel Diaries*. Britten's repeated wave-like figures in "Early Morning Bathe," for instance, have a similar aural effect to the figurations employed by Williamson in "A Morning Swim" in the *Sydney* diary, which captures the regular forward-motion of a swimmer. In addition, the final piece in Britten's *Holiday Diary*, "Night," recalls the memorable events of the holiday by

[7] Malcolm Williamson, *Travel Diaries: Sydney*, 1962.
[8] *Holiday Diary* is dedicated to the Australian expatriate composer and pianist Arthur Benjamin (1893-1960), with whom Britten studied piano at the Royal College of Music, London, in the early 1930s. It was composed rather hastily, over the period of a few days, in October 1934.

reusing musical ideas introduced in the first three pieces, unifying the work as a whole.[9] A similar sense of discovery and closure is evident in Williamson's *Travel Diaries*, as will be shown in the following discussion. The parallels evident between these two works suggest that Williamson was familiar with Britten's *Holiday Diary* and took inspiration from its programme and musical ideas.

Stylistically, the *Travel Diaries* also show a debt to Béla Bartók (1881-1945) and his piano pieces for children, especially the cycle of 153 progressive pieces known collectively as *Mikrokosmos* (1926-39), or "little world."[10] Like *Mikrokosmos*, the *Travel Diaries* are graded according to technical and musical difficulty and represent a type of "world in miniature." The influence of *Mikrokosmos* can be seen in Williamson's ingenious, yet logical, construction of the *Travel Diaries* and in the incorporation of superficially straight-forward and interesting musical ideas with subtle changes of time signatures and rhythmic and melodic figurations.[11] The *Travel Diaries* share a number of similar technical ideas with *Mikrokosmos*, including pieces exploring the pentatonic scale, exercises in playing double thirds, playing with a *legato* touch, and duet playing.

The *Travel Diaries* have achieved moderate success in both Australia and Britain. Selected pieces have been included in the syllabuses of several music examination boards, including Trinity College,[12] and in spite of their pedagogical intent, they are also eminently suitable for performance in the concert hall; in fact, many of the individual pieces have

[9] Britten and Williamson also shared a preference for lyrical melodies, as can be seen in Britten's "Sailing" in *Holiday Diary* and Williamson's "Lane Cove" in the *Sydney* diary.
[10] In a New York City radio broadcast held on 2 July 1944, Bartók stated, "*Mikrokosmos* may be interpreted as a series of pieces in all of different styles that represent a small world. Or, it may be interpreted as a world, a musical world for the little ones, for the children." Béla Bartók quoted in Benjamin Suchoff, *Bartók's Mikrokosmos: Genesis, Pedagogy, and Style* (Oxford: Scarecrow Press, 2002), ix.
[11] Roger Covell, *Australia's Music: Themes of a New Society* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1967), 174.
[12] For example, "Flower Sellers" from the *Paris* book has been included in the syllabus of Trinity College. Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 12 July 2007.

been featured in recitals by Williamson, Gwenneth Pryor and Antony Gray.[13] Gray has also recorded the complete five-volume collection of *Travel Diaries* for the ABC Classics label.[14] Collectively, they are witty, imaginative and charming pieces and the musical techniques, styles and forms employed in each piece combine to effectively evoke the pictorial image described in the title.

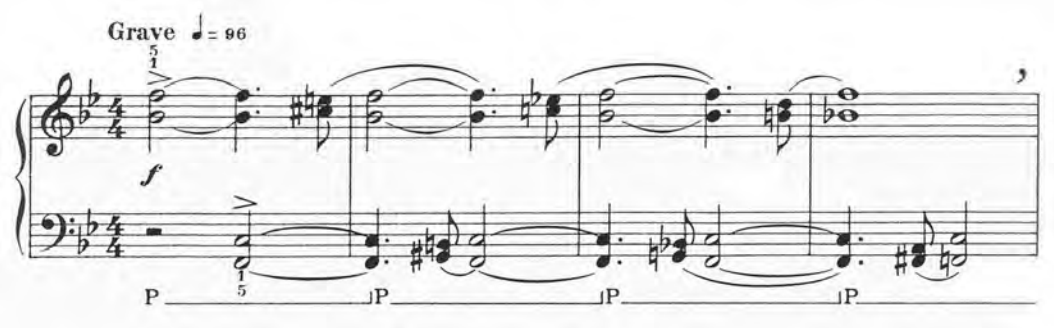
The following discussion will focus on the stylistic features of the pieces in the *Sydney* book of *Travel Diaries* to reveal the musical devices Williamson employed to convey the sounds and shapes of specific places and monuments within his hometown of Sydney, as well as to create music that was "useful;" both of which relate to the composer's Australian background and projection of Australian characteristics. The *Sydney* volume consists of thirteen brief pieces that take little more than ten minutes in total to perform.[15] Collectively, they encourage the amateur pianist to develop independence of the fingers and they also introduce simple pedalling practices, bitonality, the pentatonic scale and various articulations, embellishments, time signatures, rhythmic patterns, dynamic levels and phrase lengths.

The opening piece, "North Head," carries the subtitle "A great craggy eminence guarding the north entrance of the harbour"[16] and is intended to represent, in music, one of the two imposing sandstone headlands that stand at the entrance of Port Jackson and Sydney Harbour. The piece is bitonal, exploring the tonal centres of F and B-flat simultaneously through overlapping, sustained chords (see Figure 4.2, noting the perfect fifth built on B-

[13] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 12 July 2007.
[14] The *Travel Diaries* appear on Gray's recording *Malcolm Williamson: Complete Works for Piano*, ABC Classics 472 902-2, 2003.
[15] The *Sydney* book contains more pieces than the other four volumes of *Travel Diaries* and provided a model for the other books in the series. *Sydney* is dedicated to Williamson's sister, Diane.
[16] Williamson, *Travel Diaries: Sydney*, 1962, 2.

flat in the treble part, superimposed over a perfect fifth built on F in the bass).[17] This bitonality creates a dissonance which, when combined with minor third intervals and open spacing between the upper and lower parts, effectively evokes the ominous mood of the scene described in the subtitle, which Williamson would have viewed firsthand as he left and returned to Sydney by boat in the early 1950s. For the purposes of the programme of this book of *Travel Diaries*, this piece is symbolic of the traveller's arrival in Sydney.

Figure 4.2 Malcolm Williamson, *Travel Diaries*, *Sydney*, "North Head," bb. 1-4.



The second piece in the *Sydney* book appropriately presents a dockside scene, signifying the traveller's arrival on shore. Entitled "Pyrmont Dockside" ("Sailors ashore on leave"), this brief piece effectively suggests a waterfront scene through a musical reference to a "Sailors' Hornpipe."[18] Figure 4.3 shows an example of "The College Hornpipe" as it appeared in *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (1855-59) and a strong resemblance can be seen between the rhythmic and melodic features of this traditional hornpipe and those of

[17] The opening of "North Head" is dominated by a two-note rhythmic and harmonic idea which features a minor third moving to a perfect fifth in the treble part (a perfect fifth built on B-flat) and echoed in the bass (a perfect fifth built on F). The perfect fifths are repeated on the same pitches, while the minor thirds descend chromatically on each appearance. This gesture, along with several repeated notes and moving chords in the bars that follow, encourages the development of independence and strengthening of the pianist's fingers. Simple legato pedalling is also introduced in this piece, requiring the performer to re-engage the sustain pedal at the beginning of each bar.

[18] The "Sailors' Hornpipe," or "College Hornpipe" as it is sometimes known, is a traditional dance tune based on the song *Jack's the Lad* and is commonly associated with English sailors and the sea. Captain Cook reportedly ordered his crew to dance the hornpipe, a solo dance with intricate steps, in order to keep them fit and healthy during long voyages in cramped confines. "Sailor's Hornpipe," *National Maritime Museum* [online source]; available from http://www.nmm.ac.uk/server/show/conWebDoc.17928; Internet; accessed 17 May 2007.

"Pyrmont Dockside" (see Figure 4.4). For instance, both examples begin with two stepwise quavers, followed by three crotchets that are characterised by a descending motion; a descending leap of an octave in "The College Hornpipe" and descending thirds in "Pyrmont Dockside."[19]

Figure 4.3 "The College Hornpipe" from *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (1855-59), published by W. Chappell.

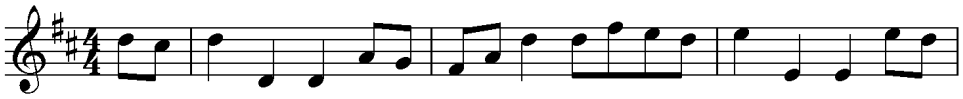
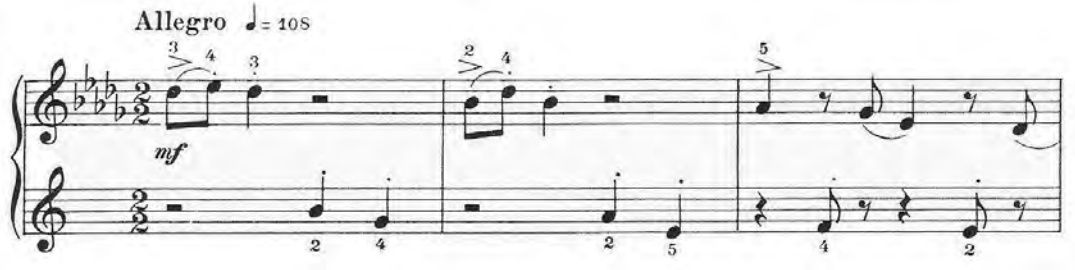


Figure 4.4 Williamson, *Travel Diaries*, *Sydney*, "Pyrmont Dockside," bb. 1-3.



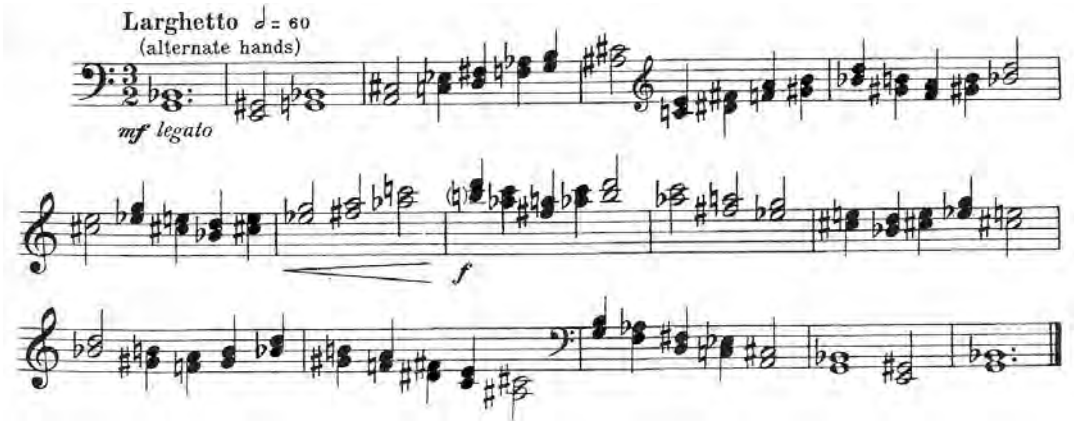
The next few pieces in the *Sydney* book of *Travel Diaries* follow the traveller's exploration of well-known places, monuments and other tourist attractions within the Sydney area. The third piece musically depicts one of Sydney's most famous landmarks, the Harbour Bridge. Williamson's "Harbour Bridge" carries the subtitle "Engineering marvel, a steel palindrome" and like the "Coat-hanger" itself, this musical piece is palindromic.[20] Essentially, this means that it can be played backwards or forwards with the same aural effect; either way the same notes, intervallic patterns and rhythmic figures are produced.

[19] "Pyrmont Dockside" takes less than twenty seconds in total to perform and like "North Head," it is bitonal, with each stave employing a different key signature, as is evident in Figure 4.4. The right hand melody is essentially pentatonic, while the left hand explores the key of C major, with the hands swapping keys for the final three bars. The piece is also an exercise in playing short phrases and a variety of articulations, such as slurs and accents, at a fast tempo. While the hands are to be placed in close position, they are required to make small shifts around the keyboard without compromising the balance of the sound.

[20] Williamson, *Travel Diaries: Sydney*, 1962, 3. "Coat-hanger" is a colloquial term frequently used by locals to describe the iconic Harbour Bridge, which has a unique, arch-like shape.

The resulting arch-like melodic shape, created from a series of double thirds that alternates between minor and major intervallic structures, resembles the outline of the bridge itself (see Figure 4.5).[21]

Figure 4.5 Williamson, *Travel Diaries*, *Sydney*, "Harbour Bridge."

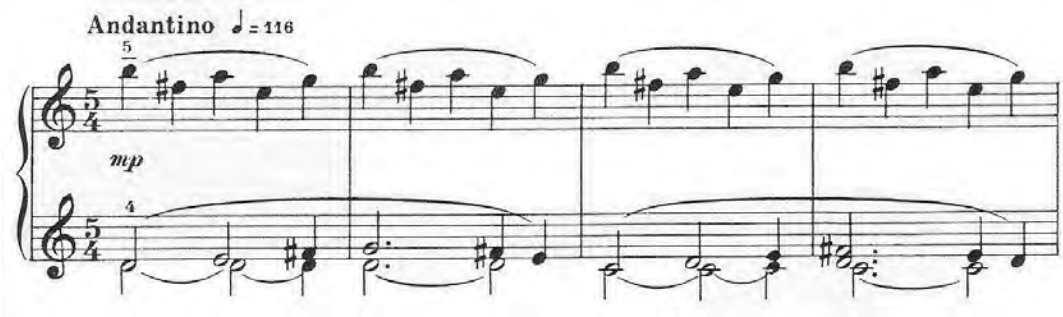


The piece that follows, "The Botanical Gardens" ("Brilliant sub-tropical blooms and pale green lawns"), is an exercise in *legato* playing and its calm, peaceful mood reflects the tranquillity of the harbour-side gardens (see Figure 4.6).[22] Williamson would have become well-acquainted with this place during his student years at the NSW State Conservatorium, which was located adjacent to the Botanical Gardens, and there is little doubt that his memories of this location provided inspiration for this simple and elegant piece.

[21] Similar musical ideas are also employed in the other four volumes of *Travel Diaries* to outline the unique shapes of significant monuments. In the *Paris* volume, for example, "The Eiffel Tower" musically portrays the famous Parisian monument through a steadily ascending melodic line that eventually reaches a climax, before rapidly descending chromatically into the depths of the bass, musically outlining the structural shape of the landmark. "Harbour Bridge" effectively introduces the student to the concept of a musical pattern with no tonal centre or key signature, only accidentals. It also encourages the pianist to maintain equal weight between the fingers on the keyboard whilst learning how to play a succession of double thirds. Williamson, *Travel Diaries: Sydney*, 1962, 2.

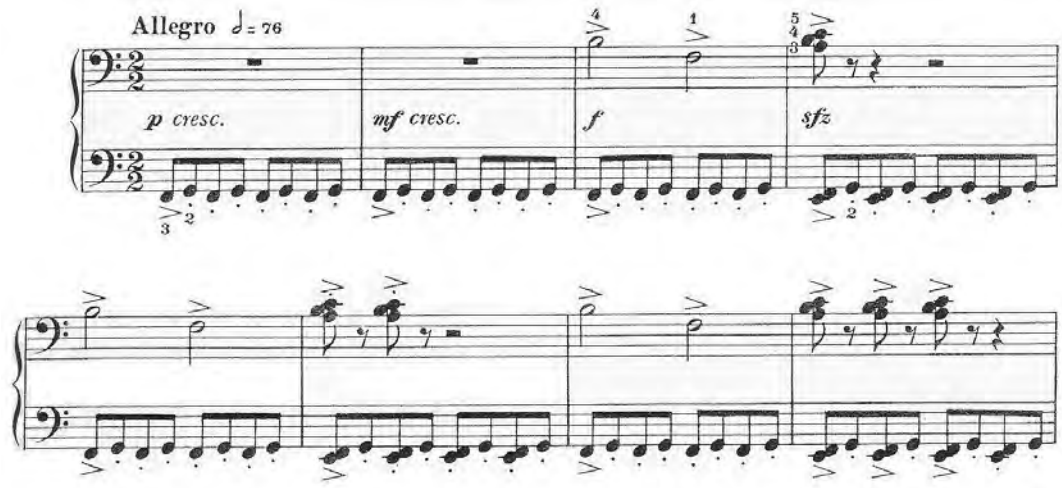
[22] This piece also introduces the student to the relatively unconventional metre of 5/4 and also helps develop independence of the fingers in the left hand, particularly the fourth and fifth fingers, which are required to sustain long notes (which add to the tranquil atmosphere of the piece) while the other fingers of the left hand move freely.

Figure 4.6 Williamson, *Travel Diaries*, *Sydney*, "The Botanical Gardens," bb. 1-4.



In contrast, "At Central Railway" ("Twenty-Three Platforms!") captures the rhythmic momentum of moving trains through the use of persistent staccato quavers in the bass line (see Figure 4.7), while the pianist's right hand engages in playing a succession of twenty-three accented notes and chords, hence the "Twenty-Three Platforms" of the subtitle.[23] Central Railway Station is the largest railway station in Australia and no doubt it held a significant place in Williamson's memories of Sydney because he would have relied on its services frequently during his years there, especially given that he never acquired a driver's licence.[24]

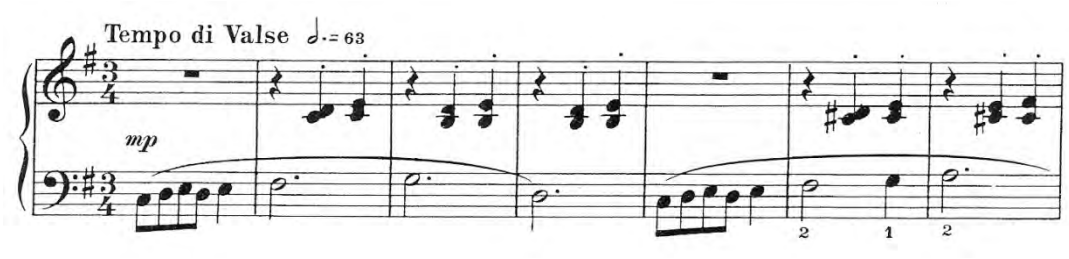
Figure 4.7 Williamson, *Travel Diaries*, *Sydney*, "At Central Railway," bb. 1-8.



[23] This left-hand pattern is a simple exercise in preparation for playing an even trill or other form of embellishment and while the right hand is percussive, a wide range of dynamic effects are explored and therefore dynamic control is essential.
[24] Marion Foote to Carolyn Philpott, personal communication, 4 July 2005.

The following piece is named after another mode of transport commonly used in Sydney, the ferry. "Harbour Ferry" ("from Circular Quay") is a study in playing legato in one hand and staccato in the other and it has the tempo and character of a waltz (see Figure 4.8), perhaps inspired by Williamson's memories of music heard or played during his childhood and adolescence in Sydney in the 1930s and 1940s.

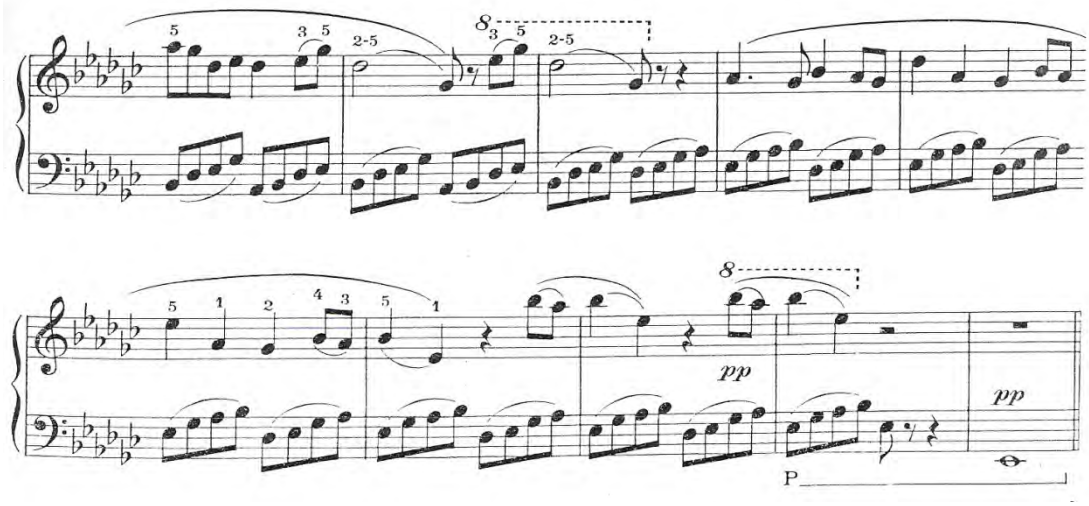
Figure 4.8 Williamson, *Travel Diaries*, *Sydney*, "Harbour Ferry," bb. 1-7.



"Lane Cove" ("Remnants of the old settlements") is also an exercise in legato playing and employs the pentatonic scale.[25] Its lyrical, nostalgic melody symbolically represents remnants of prior settlements at Lane Cove through its echoing of fragments from the ending of each phrase in a higher register, creating musical "remnants" (see Figure 4.9, especially bars 14-15 and 19-21).

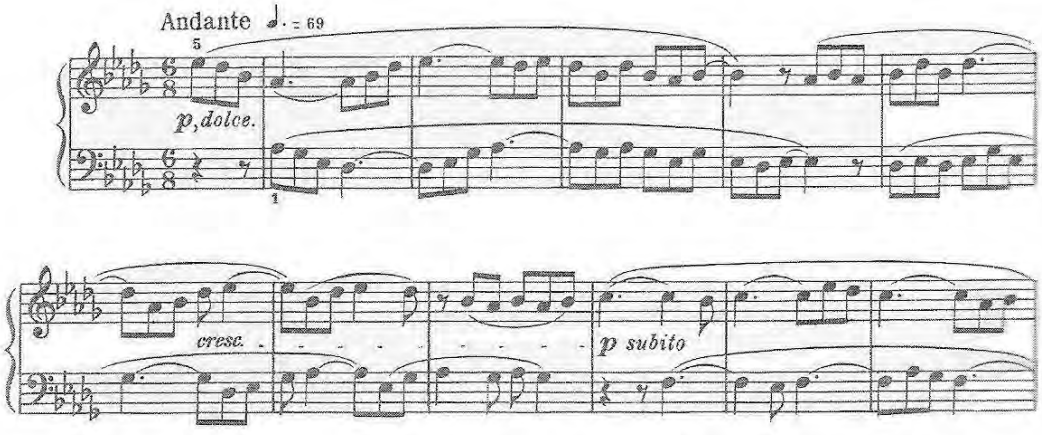
[25] "Lane Cove" is played entirely on the "black" keys of the piano and also introduces the pianist to the technique of changing fingers on one note. The lyrical right-hand melody is in long phrases, while the legato left-hand accompaniment requires the use of both sustain and soft (*una corda*) pedals. "Lane Cove" has achieved popularity in its own right and has been recorded independently of the *Travel Diaries* series on the Australian recording *Eternity: The Timeless Music of Australia's Composers*, ABC Classics 476 160-7.

Figure 4.9 Williamson, *Travel Diaries*, *Sydney*, "Lane Cove," bb. 13-22.



"Lane Cove" carries the marking *Andante* (*as in a mist*) and its undulating left-hand accompaniment figure suggests that the landscape is being viewed from the water. This piece bears a strong aural resemblance to "Waves" (No. 51) from Bartók's *Mikrokosmos*, which is also based on the pentatonic scale, carries the marking *Andante* and features an undulating, wave-like motion that requires a *legato* touch and soft dynamics (see Figure 4.10).

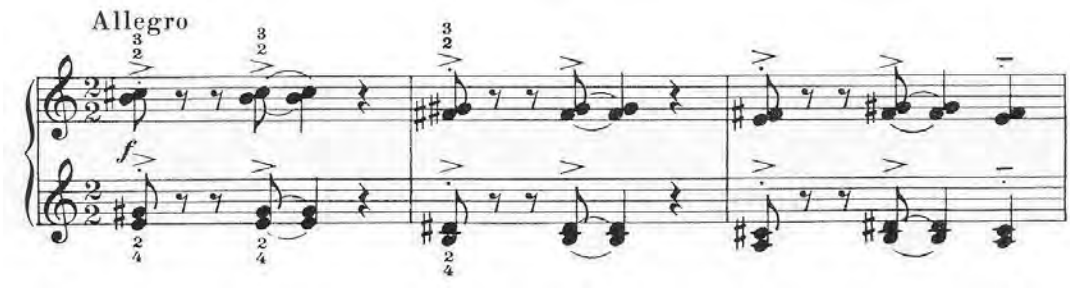
Figure 4.10 Bartók, "Waves," No. 51 from *Mikrokosmos*, bb. 1-12.



The parallels between these two pieces may be coincidental, yet Williamson's use of similar musical ideas and devices to Bartók nevertheless shows the influence of European composers and their music on his compositional style. It is unlikely that Williamson would have had such strong exposure to European music had he not expatriated to Britain and therefore, "Lane Cove" reflects not only the composer's close affinity with the city of his birth, Sydney, but also the influence of his expatriate experiences and training.

The piece that follows is intended to represent the suburb of Sydney infamous for its night-life and popular decadence, King's Cross. Williamson's "King's Cross" ("The Bohemian, cosmopolitan, nightclub district") is a lively work characterised by accented, percussive, added-sixth chords that are played simultaneously (see Figure 4.11 for added-sixth chords built on E, B and A in bars 1, 2 and 3, respectively). The syncopated jazz rhythms evident in this piece are suggestive of the sound-scape of King's Cross and may well have been inspired by Williamson's personal experiences of this place as a young adult in the late 1940s and early 1950s, or by the jazz music he encountered as a nightclub pianist in London in the mid to late 1950s.[26]

Figure 4.11 Williamson, *Travel Diaries*, *Sydney*, "King's Cross," bb. 1-3.

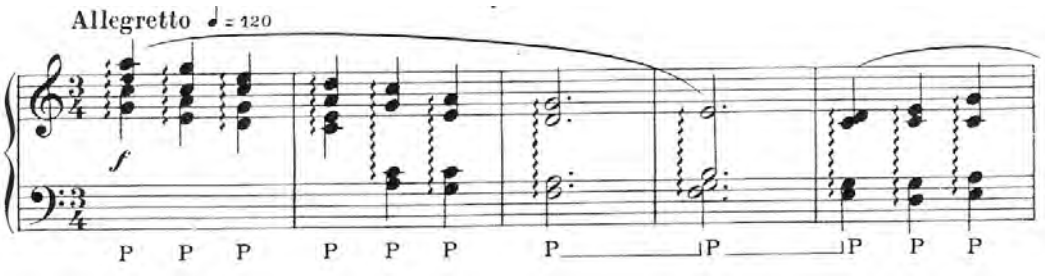


"King's Cross" is followed by an exercise in playing rolled chords entitled "A Morning Swim" ("Manly Pool"). This piece was undoubtedly inspired by Williamson's nostalgic

[26] The jazz rhythms employed in this piece encourage the pianist's development of rhythmic control.

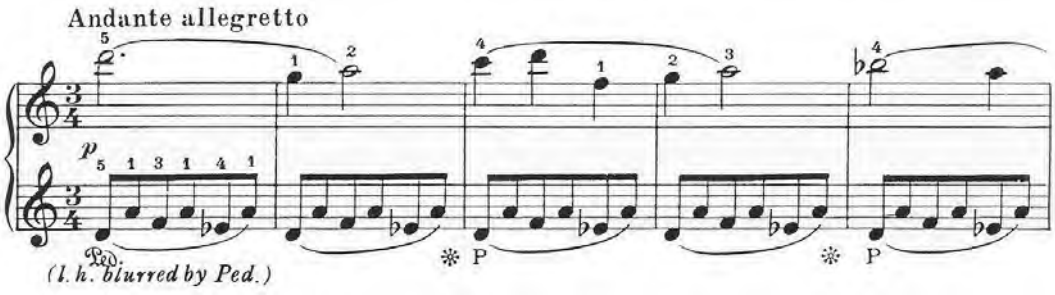
childhood memories of morning swims in the harbour pool at Manly with his father and sisters.[27] As mentioned earlier in this chapter, a moderate rhythm and rolled chords are employed in this piece to vividly depict the ripples of water produced by a swimmer's regular strokes (see Figure 4.12).[28]

Figure 4.12 Williamson, *Travel Diaries*, *Sydney*, "A Morning Swim," bb. 1-5.



The next piece in the series is entitled "Kirribilli" ("A harbourside suburb of great beauty") and features a cantabile melody with a legato accompaniment that is instructed to be blurred by the pedal (see Figure 4.13).[29] The resulting aural effect suggests that the landscape described in the title is being viewed by the traveller through either a mist or an atmospheric heat haze.

Figure 4.13 Williamson, *Travel Diaries*, *Sydney*, "Kirribilli," bb. 1-5.



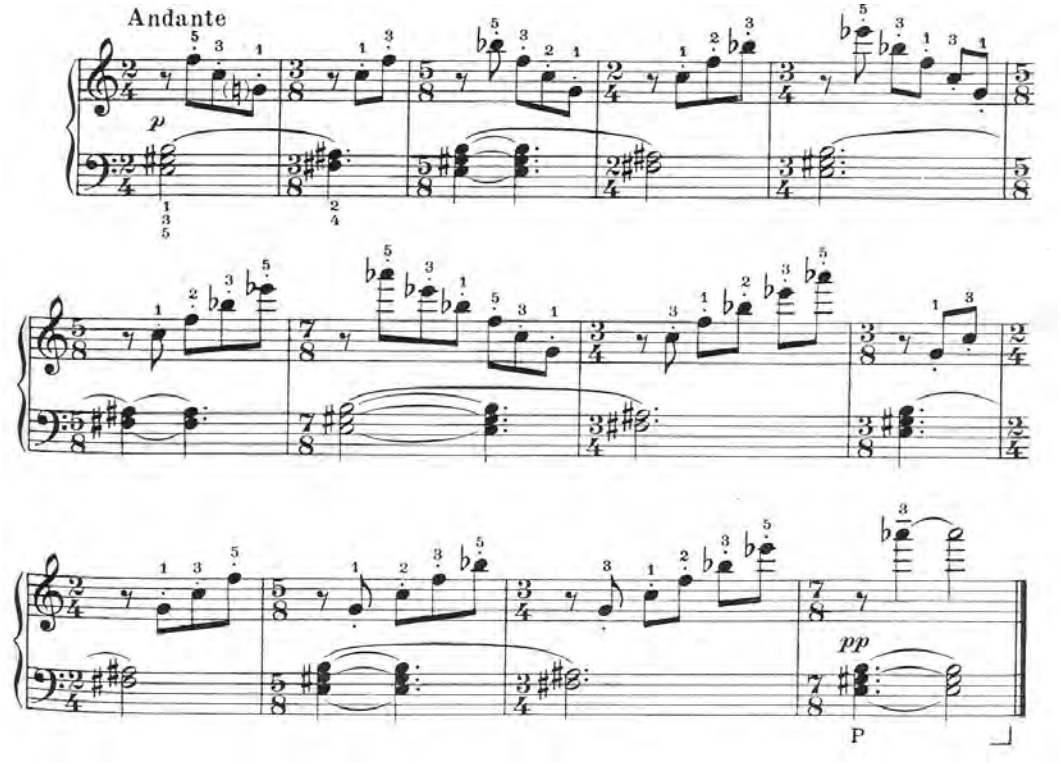
[27] Marion Foote to Carolyn Philpott, personal communication, 4 July 2005. The harbour pool was constructed at Manly Cove in 1931 by the Port Jackson Steamship Company in order to provide a large, enclosed, shark-proof bathing area for locals and visitors to enjoy for free. The pool featured pontoons and slides and was recognised at the time as the finest swimming pool in Australia.
[28] These chord changes require the pianist to perform frequent and efficient changes of the sustain pedal.
[29] Williamson, *Travel Diaries: Sydney*, 1962, 10.

This is followed by a short study in varied rhythmic metres entitled "The Southern Cross" ("The stellar formation which can be seen on a clear Australian night").[30] In this piece, Williamson employed short melodic fragments constructed from high-pitched, staccato quavers in perfect fourths apart to musically evoke the stars of the Southern Cross constellation dotted across the night sky (see treble stave of Figure 4.14).[31] Indeed, the interval of a fourth may have been used symbolically in this piece to represent the four main stars that constitute the "cross" of the "Southern Cross." The Southern Cross is one of the most distinctive constellations in the southern hemisphere and is visible from almost anywhere in Australia. It is depicted on the Australian flag, and for most Australians it has become an important symbol of national identity and independence. It is therefore entirely appropriate that the traveller in Williamson's *Travel Diaries* takes a moment to observe this unique stellar formation.

[30] Each of the thirteen bars that make up this brief piece features a change of time signature, varying between 2/4, 3/8, 5/8, 3/4 and 7/8.

[31] A close examination of the right-hand figurations also reveals the presence of an imaginative rhythmic pattern. The first two bars of the piece introduce a melodic motive in two rhythmic groupings; a grouping of three descending quavers in the first bar, followed by two ascending quavers in the second bar. This motive is then restated in the third and fourth bars, but with an extra pitch (B flat) added a perfect fourth higher at the beginning and end of the motive, to make the rhythmic groupings extend to four quavers followed by three. This pattern continues in the fifth and sixth bars, and seventh and eighth bars as extra pitches (E flat and A flat consecutively) are added. This pattern is broken in the ninth bar as a new ascending two-note motive is stated. The following four bars add on one pitch each, until the final bar, when only a single note is heard. This pattern not only serves as a structural device for the piece, but it is also an interesting pattern for students to discover. A similar idea is presented in the main theme of Williamson's organ work *Fons Amoris* (1955-56).

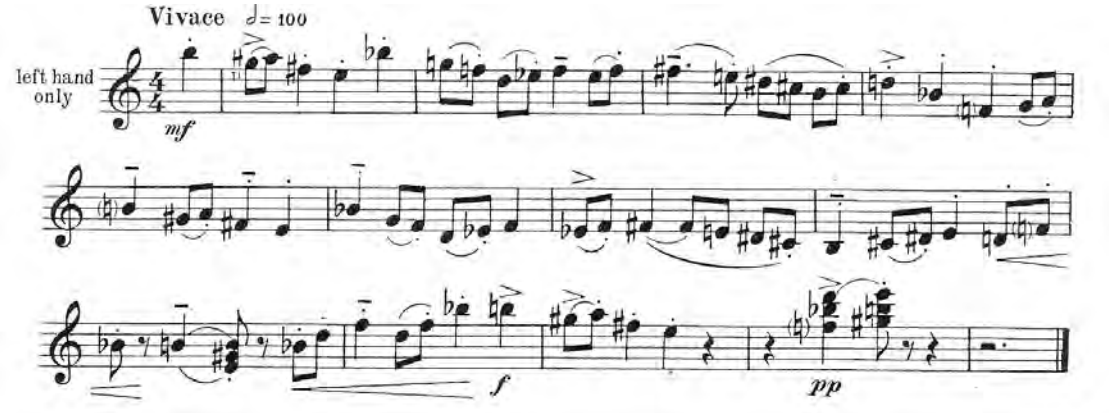
Figure 4.14 Williamson, *Travel Diaries*, *Sydney*, "The Southern Cross."



The penultimate piece in the *Sydney* book, "In Hyde Park" ("A pigeon has lost his way"), is a brief study in asymmetrical phrasing for the left hand alone. The single melodic line presented is fast and lively and punctuated by staccatos, accents, slurs and tenutos, which effectively convey the skittish movements of a lone pigeon aimlessly wandering through Sydney's popular Hyde Park (see Figure 4.15).[32]

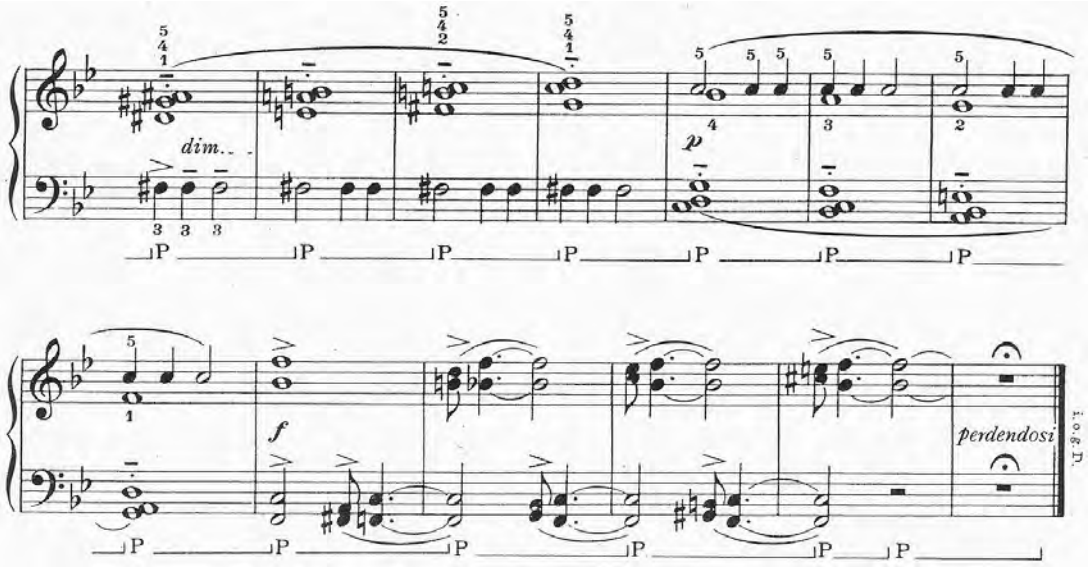
[32] According to Williamson's preface to the score, this is a "fugal type of melody." Williamson, *Travel Diaries: Sydney*, 1962, 12. As can be seen in Figure 4.15, the "subject" of this brief melody is four bars in duration and it appears firstly in a high "part" (bars 1-4), before entering an octave lower (bars 5-7) in a rhythmically displaced manner. The remainder of the piece (commencing from the C-sharp in bar 8) is constructed from fragments of the subject's cells in retrograde order.

Figure 4.15 Williamson, *Travel Diaries*, *Sydney*, "In Hyde Park."



The final piece, "South Head" ("Twin to North Head"), is essentially the first piece in the book, "North Head," played in reverse. "South Head" also features palindromic elements within itself, as can be seen in the simple nonretrogradable rhythmic pattern presented on the pitch "C" in the upper voice of the treble in bars 12 to 15 (see Figure 4.16).

Figure 4.16 Williamson, *Travel Diaries*, *Sydney*, "South Head," bb. 8-20.[33]



[33] The letters "i.o.g.D.," seen at the end of this musical example, represent a motto in Latin from the Rule of Saint Benedict, "in omnibus glorificetur Deus" ("That in all [things] God may be glorified") and Williamson included this reference in the scores of most of his compositions from the late 1950s onwards.

The pieces "North Head" and "South Head" are used to frame the other musical impressions of Williamson's home city in the *Travel Diaries* in much the same way that the geographical landmarks North Head and South Head frame the entrance to Sydney Harbour. The reappearance of "North Head" in its reversed form at the conclusion of the book helps to unify the volume as a whole and combined with the other pieces in the book, it provides the listener with the sense of arrival, exploration, and departure associated with travel. These are concepts with which Williamson would have been very familiar, especially during the 1960s when he and his music were in demand all over the world.[34] Collectively, the pieces in the *Sydney* book of *Travel Diaries* demonstrate Williamson's intimate knowledge of the landmarks, suburbs, monuments and other attractions unique to the city of his birth and are the first works through which he created a nexus between his music and his homeland. While there are another four books in the *Travel Diaries* series that explore cities in countries other than Australia, it is significant that the composer made the *Sydney* volume the first in the series. Not only is Sydney the city in which Williamson's life and career journey began, but it is also the place that he considered "home." It is only natural, therefore, that he would have considered Sydney to be the number one city to visit; not only for himself, but also for other travellers.

[34] Similar palindromic devices are also employed in the remaining four books in the *Travel Diaries* series, where they are commonly accompanied by the inclusion of the words "Arrival" and "Departure" in the subtitles of the first and last pieces in each volume, respectively. Williamson's inclusion of these words attests to the fact that he intended for the first and last pieces in each volume to represent the comings and goings of the traveller who is keeping the "diary." The *Naples, London, Paris* and *New York* books consist of between six and ten pieces with descriptive titles that musically and technically provide an extension of the ideas and skills introduced in the *Sydney* book. There are several duets for the student and teacher, such as "Mount Vesuvius" in the *Naples* diary, which enable the student to participate in the performance of music that sounds more complex than they are likely to be capable of producing on their own. Another method Williamson employed to conjure the atmosphere of specific places in the remaining four books of *Travel Diaries* was to employ fragments of pre-existing melodies that carry firm associations with particular countries. For example, "Along the Mall" ("A procession") in the *London* book contains echoes of the *British Grenadiers*, while the final piece in the *Paris* volume, "Customs" ("Départs"), is a palindromic arrangement of the first piece in the book and in this form a well-known French tune is revealed in the left-hand melody, *Au Clair de la Lune*.

In addition to reflecting the composer's close affinity with the city of Sydney, the pieces in this book also show the impact of his expatriate experiences and training, particularly his absorption of European musical styles and compositional devices. The educative piano pieces of Britten and Bartók are obvious influences on the *Travel Diaries*; however, Williamson's desire to write music that was "useful" and inclusive was also related to his Australian background and was a response to the feelings of statelessness associated with the expatriate experience, as discussed in previous chapters. As shown in the musical examples provided above, each piece in the *Travel Diaries* series is designed to teach a particular musical technique, style or concept; however, while the development of musical skills is an important function of these works, they were also carefully crafted to appeal to students of all ages. The palindromes and other imaginative musical patterns evident in the pieces, as well as the intriguing and informative titles, were no doubt included to engage the attention of students, regardless of their age. These features, combined with the descriptive notes provided in each book to assist and enlighten students and teachers, reflect Williamson's philosophy to create music that is interesting, accessible and useful. He later produced another two books of educational pieces for pianists: *Haifa Watercolours for Piano* (1974) and *Piano Impressions of The Bridge That Van Gogh Painted and the French Camargue: An album for the young Pianist* (1975), which demonstrated his ongoing commitment to creating useful and inclusive music.[35]

In the years immediately following the completion of the *Travel Diaries*, Williamson composed another four works for Australia: Piano Concerto No. 3 (1962), which was

[35] These albums consist of ten pieces each and like the *Travel Diaries*, the pieces in these collections feature evocative titles, such as "Bedouin Shepherd and His Black Mountain Goats" in *Haifa Watercolours* and "Friendly Bulls on the Highway" in *The Bridge that Van Gogh Painted and the French Camargue*. These books also include informative introductory notes by the composer and employ similar musical ideas and titles for the opening and closing pieces in each volume. For example, the final piece in *The Bridge That Van Gogh Painted and the French Camargue*, titled "The Tired Sun" ("Evening"), contains the same musical material as the opening piece, "The Tired Moon" ("Sunrise"), except that the melody appears in the left hand instead of the right and it is in the key of B-flat major instead of F major. Such features again help to create a sense of unity within each collection and make the pieces appealing to students of all ages.

commissioned by the ABC and APRA and premiered in June 1964 by John Ogdon (the dedicatee) and the Sydney Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Joseph Post;[36] and three vocal works with texts by the Australian poet James McAuley (1917-1976), *Symphony for Voices* (1960-62), *Celebration of Divine Love* (1963) and *An Australian Carol* (*Nativity*) (1963). The Piano Concerto No. 3 is not programmatic in any way, nor does it contain any extramusical connections to Australia; its only link with the country is the fact that it was composed by an Australian for performance in Australia. Therefore, a detailed examination of this work is not relevant here. Instead, the following discussion will focus on Williamson's projection of an Australian identity in the works he composed with texts by James McAuley. The main work that will be explored is the *Symphony for Voices*, which exhibits direct and obvious links to Australia in some of its movements. This was the first of several works through which Williamson created a link between his music and his homeland by incorporating texts by Australian writers and it is also one of the most successful works that he composed for the country of his birth.

Malcolm Williamson and James McAuley knew each other personally and shared many similar life experiences, as well as religious beliefs.[37] James McAuley was born in 1917 at Lakemba, New South Wales, and was one of a small number of Australian poets who came to prominence in the 1940s, a significant decade in the history of the development of modern Australian poetry.[38] McAuley, like Williamson, converted from Anglicanism to Roman Catholicism in the early 1950s and from this time forward, he demonstrated a deep commitment to the faith both in his private life and his creative output. In his poetry and

[36] The Piano Concerto No. 3 was later used as the basis for the ballet *Have Steps Will Travel* (1988), which was premiered on 23 November 1988 at the O'Keefe Centre for the Performing Arts, Toronto, by the National Ballet of Canada and National Ballet Orchestra, conducted by Ermanno Florio. It featured choreography by John Alleyne, set design by George Lawson, costume design by Kim Nielsen and lighting design by Robert Thomson. Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue," 18.
[37] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal conversation, October 2007.
[38] Vivian Smith, *Australian Writers and their Work: James McAuley* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1970), 3.

prose, McAuley's religious thoughts and convictions were frequently intertwined with his profound interest in the Australian landscape and its wildlife. Williamson once described McAuley as "deeply preoccupied with religious obligation, and . . . fascinated by Australian natural life."[39] Clearly, these qualities also resonated with the composer and as will be shown in the following discussion, McAuley's poetry seems to have been selected for the purpose of giving voice to Williamson's own feelings about Australia, his relationship with it and his religious convictions.

McAuley and Williamson also had another fundamental interest in common, music, and both used it as an outlet for the expression of their religious beliefs. Like Williamson, McAuley learnt to play the piano and organ at an early age and during his early adulthood he made a living as an organist and choirmaster at a local Anglican Church.[40] After he was received into the Catholic Church, he spent many years conducting choirs and playing service music on the organ and harmonium.[41] As a young adult, McAuley studied harmony and counterpoint at the New South Wales Conservatorium and seriously considered enrolling full time with the intention of pursuing a career as a concert pianist.[42] He eventually abandoned this idea, however, because in his own words, "poetic and scholastic interests were asserting themselves."[43] He continued to play and listen to music regardless and later composed a number of original hymns and other religious-inspired

[39] Malcolm Williamson, "Symphony for Voices" liner notes, *Music Today Vol. 4: Goehr, Davies, Williamson, Bennet*, The Record Society R.S. 6190.
[40] McAuley held these posts whilst studying English at the University of Sydney in the late 1930s and early 1940s. James McAuley in Leonie Kramer, ed., *James McAuley: Poetry, Essays and Personal Commentary* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1988), 12.
[41] McAuley's interest in playing music waned after he fell ill in 1970; however, he continued to listen to a wide variety of broadcasted and recorded music, claiming "in this form, music is as close to the centre of my life as it has ever been." James McAuley quoted in Leonie Kramer, 13.
[42] Leonie Kramer, 14-15.
[43] James McAuley quoted in Leonie Kramer, 15.

musical works, including *Mass in C*.[44] In addition, McAuley was also known for his skills as a jazz pianist and improviser, as the caricature in Figure 4.17 suggests.

Figure 4.17 John Olsen's sketch of James McAuley as a jazz pianist.[45]

Considering the number of common experiences, beliefs and interests that Williamson and McAuley shared, including their Australian upbringings, their conversions to Catholicism in the early 1950s, their roles as church organists and choirmasters and their interests in literature,[46] nature and music, it is not surprising that Williamson felt a strong affinity for McAuley's texts. In addition, McAuley's study and practice of music, both composition and performance, perhaps accounts for why his texts have lent themselves particularly well to musical setting. McAuley's poetry and prose have also been a potent attraction for a number of other Australian composers, including Richard Connolly (b. 1927), Alan

[44] The first hymn book containing works by McAuley was *We Offer the Mass: Hymns for the Year of Grace and Songs of the Promise* (1963). McAuley wrote most of his hymns during the 1960s and many of them were set to music by Richard Connolly. Most of his hymns were intended to be public celebratory songs, such as *A Song of Cosmic Praise*. He also composed songs of a more personal nature. Peter Coleman, *The Heart of James McAuley* (Sydney: Wildcat Press, 1980), 63, 93-94. Musical subjects also predominate in McAuley's poetry and prose, such as in the poem *On Listening to "The Magic Flute."*

[45] Peter Coleman, 1980, 73.

[46] Williamson's interest in literature was reflected in the diverse range of texts that he set in his vocal and choral works, as discussed in Chapter 1. In addition, he often wrote original texts and libretti for his own compositions and experimented with writing poetry, book reviews and articles for newspapers.

Tregaskis (1918-1993), Wilfrid Holland (1920-2005), Ian Cugley (b. 1945), Christopher Willcock (b. 1947), Eric Austin-Phillips (b. 1947) and Phillip Wilcher (b. 1958).

The poems Williamson chose to set in *Symphony For Voices, Celebration of Divine Love* and *An Australian Carol* (*Nativity*) are drawn from McAuley's collections *Under Aldebaran* (1946) and *A Vision of Ceremony* (1956), both of which contain poetry that is unmistakably Australian in subject matter. *Under Aldebaran*, a volume of thirty-three poems, was McAuley's earliest collection of verse and in the years following its publication in 1946, it was viewed as one of the first major advances in Australian poetry since Robert FitzGerald (1902-1987) and Kenneth Slessor (1901-1971).[47] Written prior to McAuley's conversion to Catholicism, the poetry of *Under Aldebaran* is evocative of the Australian landscape, its native wildlife and its inhabitants, but also shows McAuley's increasing interest in religious ideals. These themes are intensified in the poetry of *A Vision of Ceremony*, which was published a decade after *Under Aldebaran* and shows the direct influence of McAuley's conversion to the Roman Catholic Church. Many of the poems contained in *A Vision of Ceremony* can be viewed as autobiographical; they demonstrate McAuley's personal search for meaning. According to the Australian poet and critic Vivian Smith, McAuley's conversion is "reflected in his poetry not as a turning to new themes, but as a penetration to the essential significance of the themes and a resolution of the tensions that have always preoccupied him."[48]

Williamson's *Symphony for Voices* (1960-62) is a setting of five poems drawn from both *Under Aldebaran* and *A Vision of Ceremony*, scored for solo alto and unaccompanied SATB choir. The first, third and fifth movements feature poems from *A Vision of Ceremony*, while the second and fourth movements set poems from *Under Aldebaran*. The

[47] Vivian Smith, 7.
[48] Vivian Smith, 18.

five poems were undoubtedly selected for their strong connections with the Australian landscape and their vivid religious imagery. However, McAuley's poetry not only provided a vehicle for the expression of Williamson's thoughts about Australia and his beliefs following his own conversion to Catholicism in 1953, but it also offered a variety of different opportunities for musical development and contrast.[49] Williamson chose to use the word "symphony" in the title of the work because "the chorus is used as a kind of orchestra, and the layout is not unlike a symphony with its slow movement and scherzo, and more weighty flanking movements."[50] Despite his explanation, however, some critics have remained unconvinced about the symphonic nature of the work, labelling the inclusion of the word "symphony" in the title as "pretentious."[51] One reviewer reported, "Although I can detect a cogency in the textual intermingling of poetic thought which could be termed 'symphonic,' I fail to see why what is already a fine song-cycle should call itself 'Symphony.'"[52]

However, *Symphony for Voices* is not unlike a cyclic symphony in its employment of an initial motivic idea that is extended and developed, providing thematic unity for the work. In this case, the motive is serialised; it spans the interval of a perfect fourth and then explores all the enclosed notes before extending outside the initial interval. In other words, Williamson serialises six notes of the chromatic scale, instead of the traditional twelve. This type of non-twelve-tone serialisation became a recognisable characteristic of Williamson's compositional style during the 1960s. In an interview conducted in 1965, he admitted:

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[49] Stephen Walsh, "Williamson the Many-Sided," *Music and Musicians* (1964-65): 29.
[50] Malcolm Williamson, "Symphony for Voices" liner notes, The Record Society R.S. 6190.
[51] *Gramophone* (September 1965), no author or title given, available from Josef Weinberger archive, London; accessed June 2006.
[52] Christopher Morley, "Arts Review: John Alldis Ensemble at the Birmingham and Midland Institute," *Birmingham Post*, February 1972, available from Josef Weinberger archive, London; accessed 26 June 2006.

> I think of myself privately as a 12-note composer who uses six or eight notes and keeps the others in reserve. If I use common chords and dominant sevenths, I don't use them in a traditional way. But it would be dishonest to suppress my simple, melodic side; I adore writing tunes, and I adore inventing accompanying figures.[53]

Like most of Williamson's works from the early 1960s, *Symphony for Voices* shows the composer's adaptation of serial methods to operate within a tonal framework. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Williamson's adoption of this compositional language shows the influence of his exposure to the music of European composers and his training with Elisabeth Lutyens during the 1950s; however, his divergence from the strict rules of serialism was more related to his Australian background and the sense of detachment that he felt from the musical history and traditions of Europe. In other words, Williamson's musical language, as expressed in this work, shows the influences of his Australian background, as well as his experiences as an expatriate.

In an interview conducted in 1967, Williamson highlighted the advantages of combining serial methods with tonality:

> My process of composition . . . begins with a tiny musical germ, a tiny melodic fragment . . . [and it is] exploited in every possible way and transformed and used within a tonal context. The tonal context gives much greater possibilities of extremes of dissonance and consonance and much more dramatic contrasts . . . than the free-for-all twelve-tone music or music which lives in a world of total chromaticism.[54]

Williamson also found that adapting serial methods to fit within a tonal context made his music more appealing and accessible to the general public. This was in keeping with his philosophy of inclusiveness.

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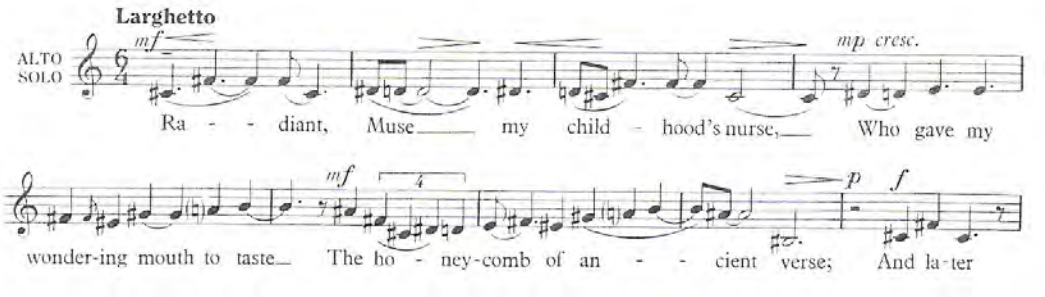
[53] Malcolm Williamson quoted in "Malcolm Williamson on Writing Music," *Times*, 19 August 1965.
[54] Williamson quoted in "Conversation with Malcolm Williamson," sound recording transcript from an interview with Hazel de Berg, 8 October 1967, National Library of Australia ORAL DeB 290, 291, 292.

The partially-serialised main motive of *Symphony for Voices* is seen at the outset of the first movement, "Invocation" for alto solo, and is then reused in various forms through the remaining four movements to unify the work as a whole, as Williamson once described:

> The germ in the first bars of the work is the controlling feature of the entire piece with the opening words: "Radiant Muse, my childhood's nurse . . . ." It reaches its simplest and clearest form in the last movement at the words "Whence that great longing for an exorcisor."[55]

The controlling "germ" of the work opens with the interval of a perfect fourth, from C sharp to F sharp, and then explores all the enclosed notes (six pitches in total, including the initial interval) and freely repeats pitches, before extending outside the initial interval in bar 5 (see Figure 4.18).

Figure 4.18 Williamson, *Symphony for Voices*, "Invocation," bb. 1-9.



The use of these six chromatic tones leaves the opening solo melody sounding somewhat tonally ambiguous, however, the frequency of the C sharp to F sharp interval over other intervals and the fact that F sharp is the central pitch of the movement's "C" to "C" twelve-note tessitura, implies that F sharp is the movement's tonal centre.[56] This is just one example of how Williamson adapted serial devices to fit within a tonal framework and in

[55] Malcolm Williamson, "Symphony for Voices" liner notes, The Record Society R.S. 6190.
[56] Brian Chatterton, "Malcolm Williamson," in *Australian Composition in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Frank Callaway and David Tunley (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978), 151.

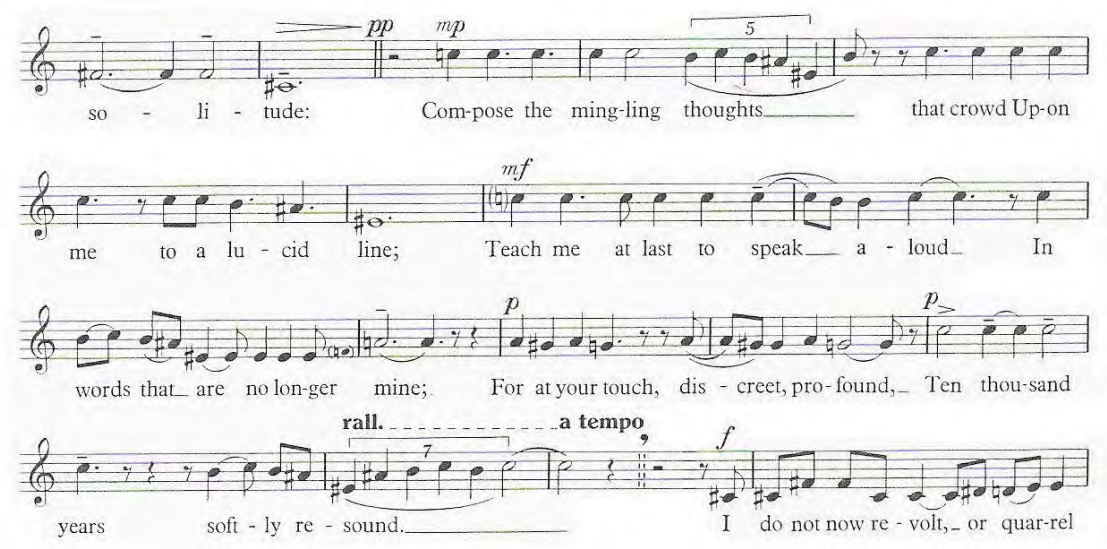
doing so, helped to differentiate himself and his music from that of British and European composers during the early 1960s.

This first movement, "Invocation," is a setting of the poem of the same name from the book "Black Swans," which forms part of McAuley's collection *A Vision of Ceremony* (1956).[57] Although this poem is not distinctively Australian in subject matter, its exploration of religious imagery paves the way for the other movements of *Symphony for Voices* that combine religious ideals with a strong sense of Australia. Both of these subjects, religion and Australia, had special resonance for Williamson and in some ways, his conversion to Catholicism in the years after he arrived in Britain was a response to his desire as an isolated expatriate to find a place to belong. For Williamson, as for many others, it seems that spirituality also offered a sense of inclusiveness. The importance that Williamson placed on his own spirituality is obvious in the way he set the religious messages inherent in McAuley's texts in *Symphony for Voices*. In the central section of "Invocation," for example, which is full of religious imagery, the words are essentially intoned by the alto voice. This creates a strong link with the Catholic liturgy and reinforces the religious significance of McAuley's text. The various irregular rhythmic groupings, such as quintuplets and septuplets, allude to the free or "prose" rhythm frequently heard in plainsong and also give emphasis to the few words that feature more than one pitch per syllable, such as "thoughts" and "resound" (see Figure 4.19).[58]

[57] When read as a whole, the poems contained within "Black Swans" evoke two elements: music and light. Vivian Smith, 1970, 18-19.

[58] The G natural at the word "touch" marks the first time all twelve pitches of the chromatic scale are heard in the movement. In 1952 McAuley wrote to his friend, the poet Donovan Clarke: "The Church is a realm of infinite wealth and beauty, but over the gate is written the word SUBMISSION, and that is why so few enter in. They prefer protestanism to Christianity, individual opinions to the mind of Christ." James McAuley quoted in Peter Coleman, 1980, 49. This letter perhaps gives a clue to the interpretation of the line of text "Teach me at last to speak aloud In words that are no longer mine." However, according to Vivian Smith, in this line of poetry McAuley is asking the "Muse" for the ability to be able to speak in a language that all people will comprehend. In order to clearly articulate McAuley's thoughts, Williamson simplifies the text expression, himself in search of a universal musical language.

Figure 4.19 Williamson, *Symphony for Voices*, "Invocation," bb. 14-31.



The use of a solo voice in this opening movement not only provides the connection with plainsong and Catholic ritual, but it also creates a significant textural contrast to the distinctly Australian-themed second movement, which is a four-part setting of McAuley's poem "Terra Australis." "Terra Australis," along with "The True Discovery of Australia," is one of the most obviously Australian poems that McAuley published in *Under Aldebaran* (1946). Like many of McAuley's works, "Terra Australis" evokes a sense of Australia through its poetic descriptions of the Australian wildlife, particularly its birds, and is dominated by the theme of discovery. As Vivian Smith identified:

> It is no accident that one of the key symbols of McAuley's poetry is the map, with all its implications of discovering, rather than inventing, of making universally accessible, of bringing new areas into relationship. McAuley's poetry read as a whole is the poetry of an intellectual quest, of a voyage of discovery: of a mind in search of a solution and then celebrating its gains.[59]

McAuley's preoccupation with the themes of discovery and universal accessibility had strong parallels with Williamson's own inclusive philosophy. It is likely that the composer

[59] Vivian Smith, 1970, 7.

was drawn to the poem "Terra Australis" because it explores these themes in a uniquely Australian context, as is evident from the very first stanza:

> Voyage within you, on the fabled ocean,
> And you will find that Southern Continent,
> Quiros' vision – his hidalgo heart
> And mythical Australia, where reside
> All things in their imagined counterpart.[60]

The idea of voyaging "within you" and finding a "mythical," "imagined" Australia obviously resonated with Williamson's own experience as an Australian expatriate and views of his homeland. By the early 1960s he had lived abroad for nearly a decade and without any recent return visits, he had little choice but to remember his homeland through the filters of time and memory, as he later admitted:

> Living away from Australia is deeply satisfying in a way . . . it enables you to dream of the place constantly, to idealise it as something perhaps better and worse than it is.[61]

As a practicing Catholic, Williamson would have found the reference in McAuley's poem to the Portuguese explorer, Quiros, particularly significant considering that Quiros' quest to discover Australia in the early seventeenth century had been motivated by his desire to "bring the light of Christ to the South Land" and his concern for the salvation of the souls of its inhabitants.[62] Inspired by McAuley's text, Williamson composed an imaginative and highly evocative musical setting which captures the Australian and religious themes inherent in the poem through the employment of sounds reminiscent of the didgeridoo within a texture similar to that of densely layered plainsong. Both of these musical ideas

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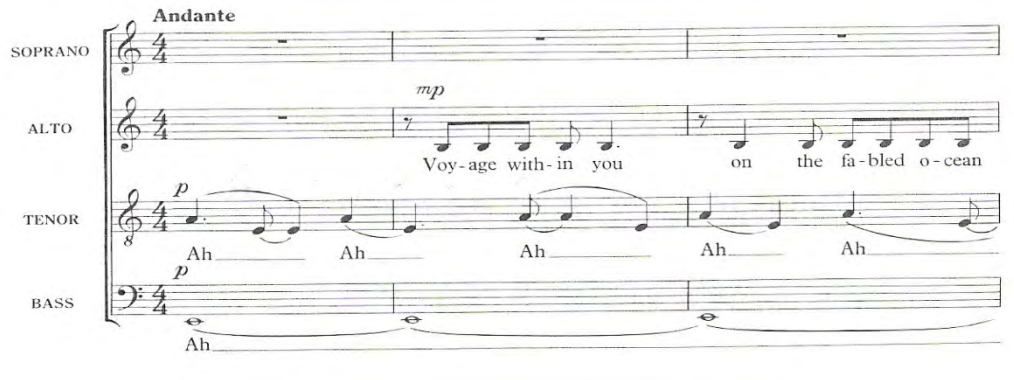
[60] James McAuley, "Terra Australis," *Under Aldebaran* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1946), 51.
[61] Peter Cole-Adams, "The Expatriates: Feted Abroad; Ignored at Home," *Age* (Melbourne 24 June 1972), 10.
[62] Quiros' physical and spiritual journey became a recurring theme in McAuley's work and he later based a long narrative poem, *Captain Quiros* (1960), on the explorer's pilgrimage to the unchartered southern continent. Vivian Smith, 1970, 31.

are heard from the opening of the movement, which begins with long, sustained notes from the bass voices that imitate the sound of a didgeridoo drone, accompanied by rocking descending-fourth figures from the tenor voices which conjure the motion of waves during an ocean "voyage."[63] Above this texture, the altos chant the words of the poem on a repeated pitch, "B," the interval of a perfect fifth above the bass line and tonic, "E" (see Figure 4.20), which is suggestive of the sound of recitation. The resulting aural effect is in deft alliance with McAuley's text and strengthens the link made in the first movement to Catholic ritual.

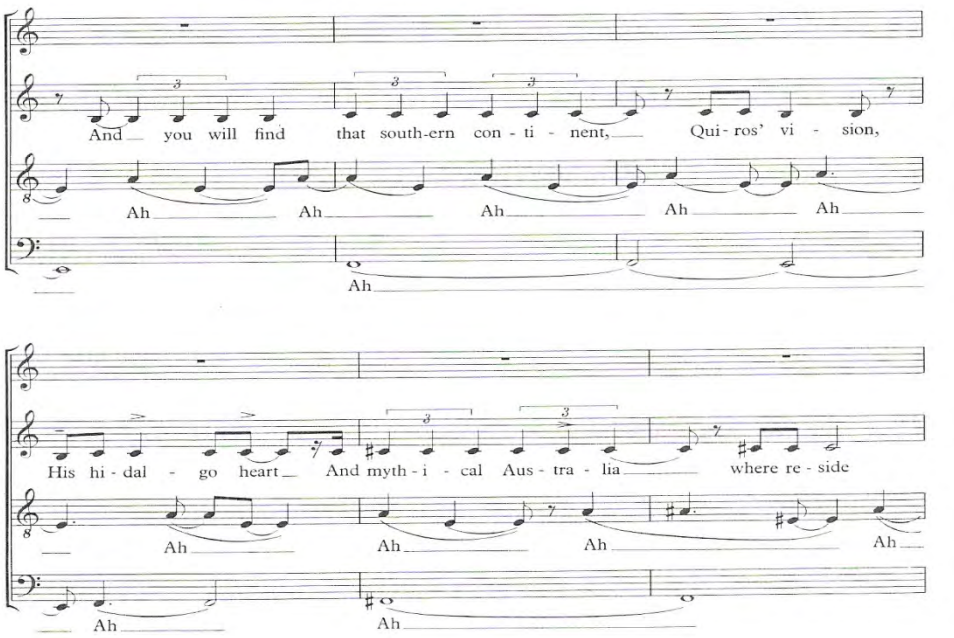
Figure 4.20 Williamson, *Symphony for Voices*, "Terra Australis," bb. 1-3.



The chanting ascends in pitch chromatically at the appearance of words that refer directly to Australia. For example, at the first reference to "that southern continent," the alto line ascends by a semitone from "B" to the pitch "C" (see Figure 4.21). The pitch is then raised by another semitone to "C sharp" to set the words "mythical Australia." This ascending chromatic motion provides a link back to the first movement, "Invocation," and also helps to emphasise the words that relate to Williamson's native Australia, showing that he was concerned with highlighting the text's Australian themes from the outset of the movement.

[63] The rocking figures are vocalised on the sound "Ah" and reappear through the movement, alternating between the alto, tenor and bass voices.

Figure 4.21 Williamson, *Symphony for Voices*, "Terra Australis," bb. 4-9.



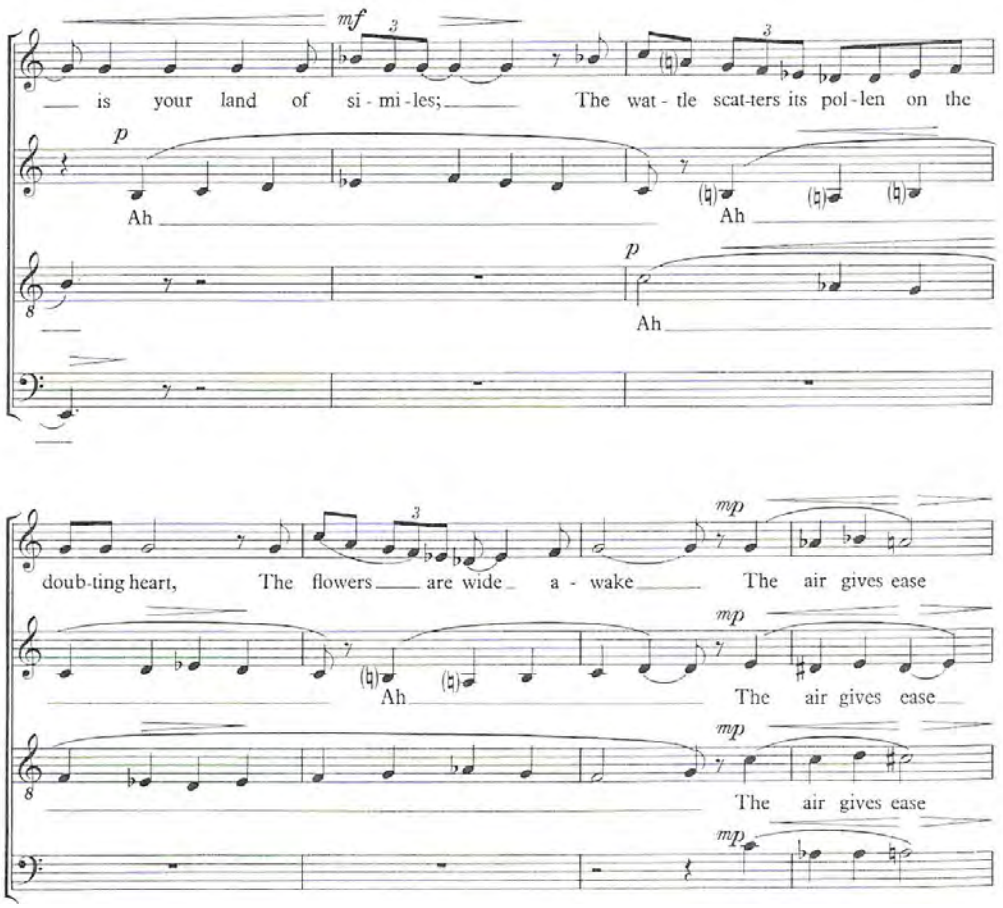
Significantly, "Terra Australis" is the first of several movements or complete works through which Williamson attempted to create a nexus between his music and a sense of Australia by making references to the music of indigenous Australians. Other works that he composed that draw on aspects of indigenous Australian music and culture include *The Glitter Gang* (1973-74), *The True Endeavour* (1988), *The Dawn is at Hand* (1989) and *Requiem for a Tribe Brother* (1992) and these will be discussed in detail later in this dissertation.

In addition to using fluctuations in the melodic line and references to indigenous music to draw attention to the text's Australian themes, Williamson also employed contrasting textures in this movement to highlight significant passages of text. For example, a passage containing two of the most meaningful lines of text in the movement, "The air gives ease/There you come home,"[64] marks the first time in the work that all four vocal parts are heard simultaneously (see Figure 4.22, especially bars 18-22). This musical passage has

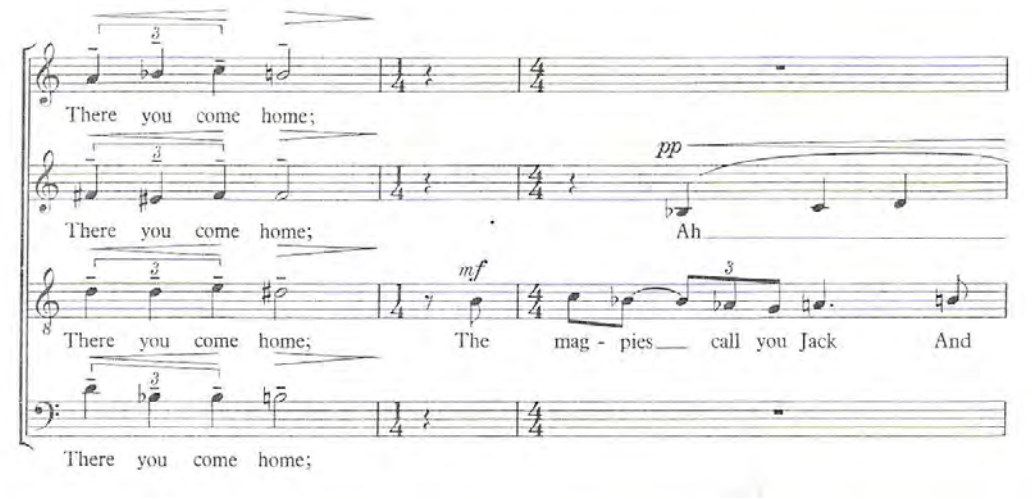
[64] Malcolm Williamson, *Symphony for Voices* (London: Joseph Weinberger, 1962), 4-5.

even more impact because it has a strong tonal underpinning and because the voices are set in a simple, homorhythmic fashion; both of which provide a strong contrast to the preceding contrapuntal section, as can be seen in the example below.[65]

Figure 4.22 Williamson, *Symphony for Voices*, "Terra Australis," bb. 13-22.



[65] The homorhythmic section is based on major triads, beginning with a C major chord at the opening of the first line (at the word "The," see Figure 4.22 bar 18) and concluding with a B major triad, which is the dominant chord of the movement's key, E major, at the word "home." In this short eight-note progression, the intervallic range between the soprano and bass remains very close, within the interval of a ninth, and each voice moves in a mostly stepwise fashion with no leaps greater than the interval of a third.

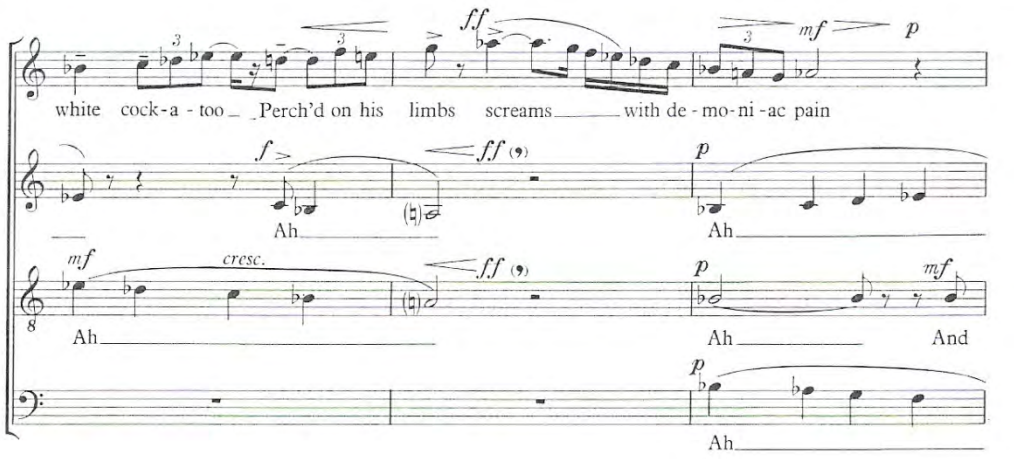


This procedure of simplifying the melodic and rhythmic material to convey the sentiment of the text was used several times in *Symphony for Voices* and reflects Williamson's desire to communicate with his audience in the clearest manner possible and to make his music "inclusive." In addition, the care taken to express the lines "The air gives ease/There you come home" as plainly and explicitly as possible indicates that their meaning held special significance for Williamson, who continued to look nostalgically to Australia as "home" throughout his life. This is one example of how the composer conveyed his feelings towards his homeland through his music and although he used the words of another Australian, the way he set these words reinforced his identity as an Australian who continued to think of the country of his birth as "home," no matter how many years he had lived abroad.

Another technique that Williamson employed to highlight the uniquely Australian aspects of McAuley's text was word painting. In "Terra Australis," Williamson created a number of musical gestures that reflect, often pictorially, the meanings of specific words or phrases that are related to Australia and particularly, the Australian natural environment. For example, in setting a phrase of text that refers to the cockatoo, a large parrot that is native to the Australasian region, Williamson constructed an animated melody and built the music

to a bold climax to draw attention to this Australian reference and to reflect the meaning of the lines "the white cock-a-too Perch'd on his limbs screams with demonic pain." As can be seen in Figure 4.23 below, the word "screams" is set to an accented high "A flat" in the soprano part over dissonant A naturals in the alto and tenor parts. The soprano melody then rapidly descends in both pitch and volume, coming to rest on the "A flat" an octave lower at the word "pain," creating a musical gesture not unlike a screech or shriek.

Figure 4.23 Williamson, *Symphony for Voices*, "Terra Australis," bb. 31-33.

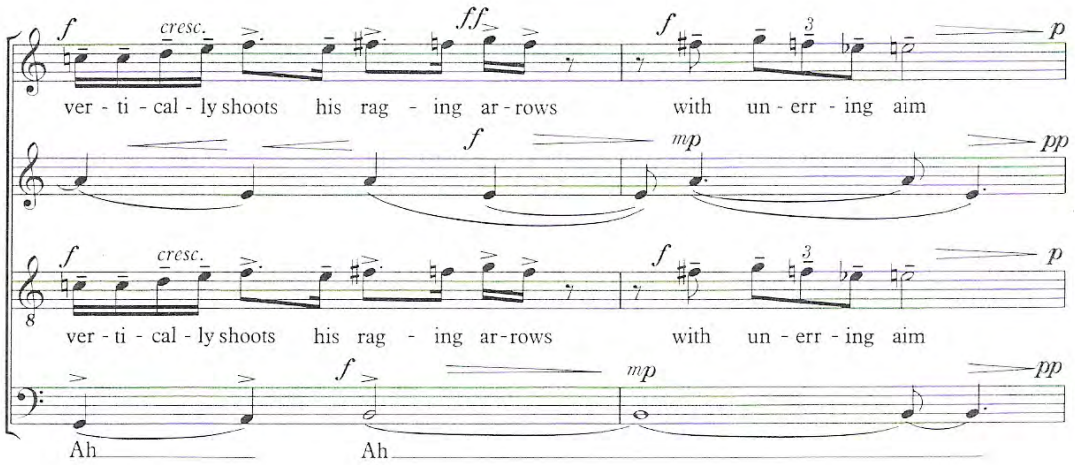


Word painting is also used to depict the vicious rays of the Australian sun in this movement. At the appearance of the phrase "Where the sun like a centaur vertically shoots his raging arrows with unerring aim," rhythmic momentum is gained through the employment of fast, accented semiquavers and dotted quavers, which are used musically to represent the precise shooting of the "raging arrows" (see Figure 4.24).[66]

[66] The rhythmic difficulties inherent in this passage require special attention from choral groups. Usually when it is performed, the singing of this phrase comes across particularly deliberate and precise because of extra time spent working on it, creating exactly the effect desired. The ascending motion of the melodic line also helps to convey the sentiment of the text. The tension created in such phrases is resolved at the conclusion of the movement, which comes to rest on a final *pianissimo* E major chord, reconfirming the movement's tonal centre.

Williamson could relate personally to this reference to the intense heat of the sun in Australia; he retained vivid memories of hot summers spent in the town of St Marys, where his family lived during the mid-1930s, and once described the heat there as "horrifying."[67] His personal experience of life in Australia no doubt influenced the way that he responded to McAuley's poetry and in this instance, the text inspired a dramatic and vivid response.

Figure 4.24 Williamson, *Symphony for Voices*, "Terra Australis," bb. 42-43.

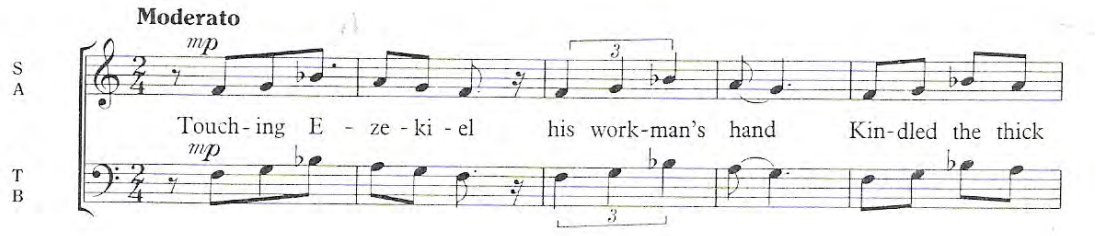


Word painting is also a feature of the third movement of *Symphony for Voices*, "Jesus," in which the four vocal parts are set in unison. Together with the opening movement, "Invocation," "Jesus" forms one of the two monophonic movements in *Symphony for Voices* and also like the first movement, the text of "Jesus" is primarily concerned with religious ideals, rather than specifically Australian subject matter.[68] The use of a monophonic setting allows for clear articulation and comprehension of the words of the poem and also alludes to the sound of plainsong, which supports the religious sentiment of the text and creates a sense of unity between the first three movements of the work. In keeping with the previous two movements of the symphony, Williamson set the opening of

[67] Malcolm Williamson, *Williamson Down Under* (London: BBC2 The Lively Arts Series, 1975).
[68] While the poem "Jesus" appears in *A Vision of Ceremony*, it was actually written prior to the publication of *Under Aldebaran* and is typical of the poet's verse dating from the years preceding his conversion to Catholicism in its references to both the Old and New Testaments. Peter Coleman, 1980, 34.

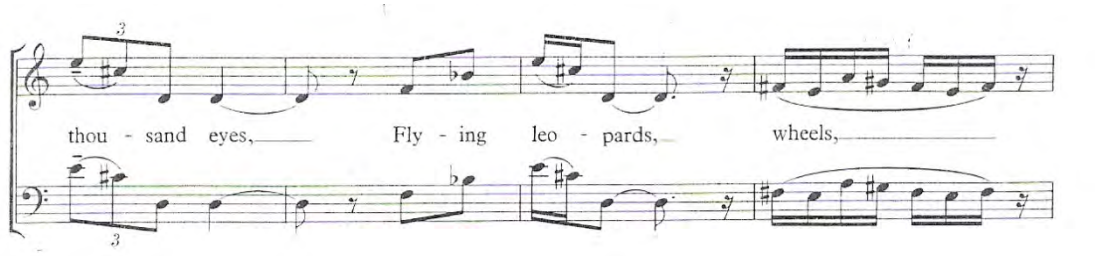
this poem to a musical figure that encompasses the interval of a perfect fourth (see Figure 4.25). This motive first appears in the key of F major, and recurs in various keys through the movement, as well as in the fifth movement, "New Guinea."

Figure 4.25 Williamson, *Symphony for Voices*, "Jesus," bb. 1-4.



While this motive dominates the third movement, a number of pictorial gestures are also employed, as in other movements, to depict the meaning of particular objects described in the text. For example, "Flying leopards" are musically portrayed through an arch-like melodic figure, with wide ranging intervals and a final major-seventh leap downwards, while the following word, "wheels" is set to a turning semiquaver figuration (see Figure 4.26).

Figure 4.26 Williamson, *Symphony for Voices*, "Jesus," bb. 10-13.



These pictorial gestures are particularly effective when heard in the context of the entire third movement because most of the remainder of the text setting is syllabic. This movement reaches a climax at the phrase, "Their real faces seen by God alone," suggesting

that this passage held special significance for Williamson, who frequently felt misunderstood, but who found solace and a place to belong through his faith.[69]

The brief fourth movement, "Envoi," is dominated by a lively, scherzo-like character.[70] Like the poem "Terra Australis," "Envoi" is distinctly Australian in subject matter and is one of the most frequently quoted lyrics from McAuley's *Under Aldebaran*. Along with A.D. Hope's "Australia" (1939) and Kenneth Slessor's "South Country" (c. 1938), "Envoi" is commonly considered to be one of the most important poems to have been written about the Australia of the late 1930s.[71] The underlying tone of "Envoi" is what Vivian Smith described as "a pervasive sense of insufficiency,"[72] a feeling of inadequacy and inner dissatisfaction that characterises many of McAuley's early lyrics. The poet's view of himself is expressed through a deliberately ambiguous comparison between his own character and Australia's landscape and people. For example, in the second stanza of the poem, McAuley describes Australia and the Australian people as such:

Where once was a sea is now a salty sunken desert
A futile heart within a fair periphery;
The people are hard-eyed, kindly, with nothing inside them,
The men are independent but you could not call them free.

This is followed in the third stanza by the poet's admission that he is well-suited to his homeland:

And I am fitted to that land as the soul is to the body,
I know its contractions, waste, and sprawling indolence;
They are in me and its triumphs are my own,
Hard-worn in the thin and bitter years without pretence.[73]

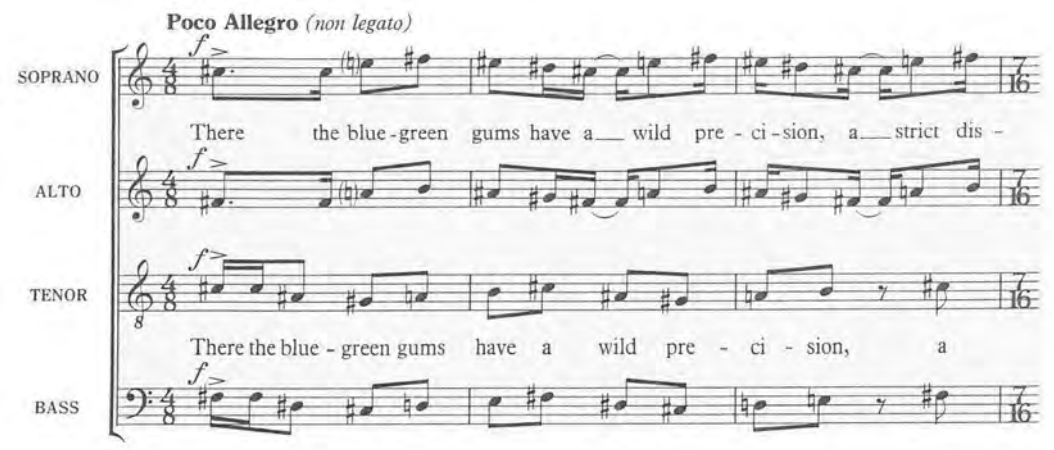
---

[69] The movement concludes with a partial restatement of the melodic fragment heard at the opening of "Jesus" to the lyric, "And told them nothing that they wished to know," however ends somewhat unexpectedly on an F sharp, in preparation for the tonal centre of the fourth movement, "Envoi."
[70] "Envoi" lasts for little more than two minutes in duration.
[71] Vivian Smith, 1970, 14.
[72] Vivian Smith, 1970, 13.
[73] Malcolm Williamson, *Symphony for Voices*, 11-16.

Like the other movements of *Symphony for Voices*, Williamson's setting of "Envoi" is directly rhetorical. The opening line of the poem reads "There the blue-green gums have a wild precision, a strict disorder" and it is clear that Williamson has taken direct inspiration from McAuley's description of the "wild precision" and "strict disorder" of Australian gumtrees. While the four vocal parts are required to sing the same text, they are divided into pairs that are rhythmically independent and frequently overlap, giving a sense of "disorder." The tenor and bass voices sing parallel fifths in similar motion to a rhythm of regular quavers; while the paired soprano and alto voices, which also sing parallel fifths in similar motion, perform a more complex rhythmic pattern which is syncopated against the lower voices and delivered in a fragmented, *non legato* vocal style (see Figure 4.27). The tenor melody is a direct inversion of the soprano motive, while the basses sing an inversion of the alto melody.[74] This ordered, but at the same time disjunct, musical idea supports the idea of "strict disorder" mentioned in the text. The frequent changes of time signature from 4/8 to 7/16 to 2/8 also add to the impression of "wild precision" and "strict disorder." The fact that Williamson took inspiration for these musical ideas from McAuley's description of Australian gum-trees suggests that the composer was intentionally attempting to create a nexus between his music and the Australian natural environment through this movement and work as a whole.

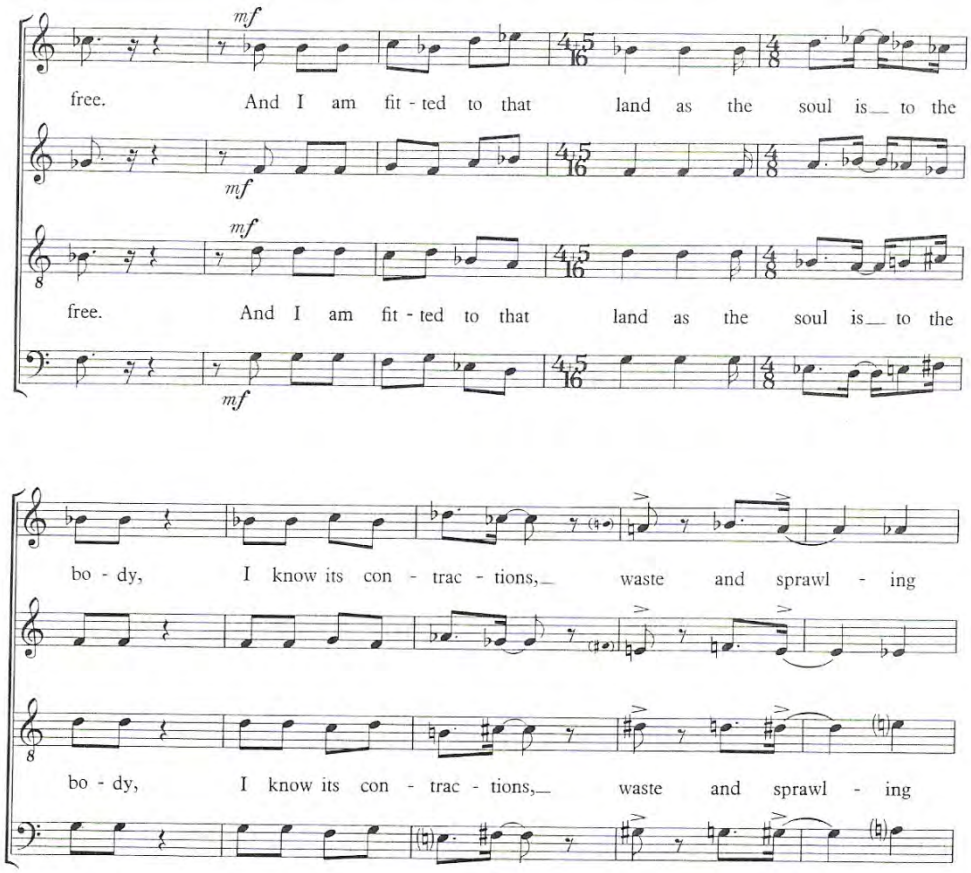
[74] The melodic idea presented in each vocal part of "Envoi" explores most of the pitches within the interval of a perfect fourth before moving outside the interval, a similar technique to that previously employed in the first movement, "Invocation." Only one of the six chromatic pitches is not heard, D natural.

Figure 4.27 Williamson, *Symphony for Voices*, "Envoi," bb. 1-3.



While these musical ideas may not be as appropriate to the remainder of the text, they are effective in providing a strong contrast to the few lines of the poem that are set homorhythmically. Syncopated rhythms are generally used throughout the movement to support McAuley's observations of the inadequacies of the Australian landscape, such as the first line of the second stanza, "Where once was a sea is now a salty sunken desert." In contrast, analogies made between the poet and his country are set in a simple homorhythmic pattern, such as the opening of the third stanza of text, "And I am fitted to that land as the soul is to the body" (see Figure 4.28). In this passage, the four vocal parts are set closely together. The soprano and alto parts sing in parallel fourths, while the tenor and bass parts sing in parallel fifths, overall creating parallel seventh chords. The two pairs of voices sing motives that once again explore all the pitches contained within the interval of a perfect fourth, a total of six pitches. The appearance of an unconventional time signature (4+5/16) and the use of crotchets for the first time in the movement on the word "land," a reference to Australia, rapidly slow down the rhythmic momentum of the passage and add to the dramatic effect of the text.

Figure 4.28 Williamson, *Symphony for Voices*, "Envoi," bb. 33-42.



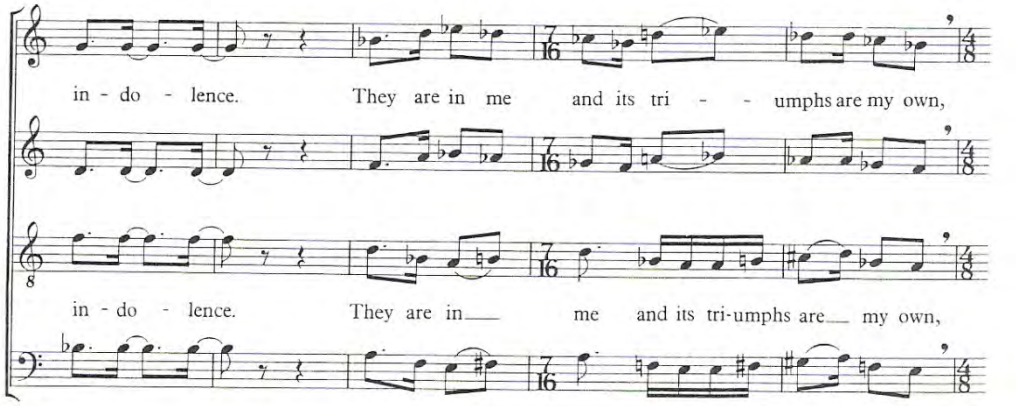
Once again, the fact that this line of verse is set in such a clear and comprehensible manner in comparison with the rest of the text setting suggests that this phrase held particular significance for Williamson. This is not surprising in this instance, considering that Williamson was known for drawing parallels between his sense of Australia and his own character, just as McAuley did in the poem "Envoi." Like McAuley, Williamson recognised a type of complacency that was peculiar to the Australian character and frequently commented on his personal struggle with it, stating in the 1960s:

> What I find to criticize in the Australian character is very much in myself, too, I feel, and I'm very much temperamentally an Australian . . . . We have as a nation

> . . . a spirit of pushing forward on one hand, progressing and . . . on the other hand, however, this regrettable indifference and acceptance of the second-rate . . . I've had to learn to fight this . . . .[75]

Therefore, Williamson would have identified with the "sprawling indolence" that McAuley recognised in the land and himself. In order to support the meaning of this phrase of text in *Symphony for Voices*, Williamson set the word "indolence" to a repeated-note pattern in each vocal part, implying that the word itself is too lazy to change pitch (see Figure 4.29). The same passage also exhibits a fairly indolent approach to harmony, progressing from a G minor seventh chord on the word "indolence" to B flat major seventh chords at the beginning of the following phrase.

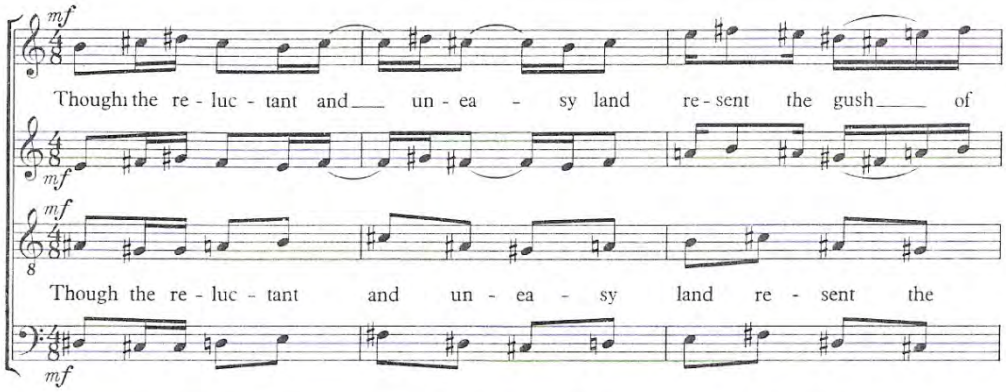
Figure 4.29 Williamson, *Symphony for Voices*, "Envoi," bb. 43-47.



Word painting techniques are also used to colour the final lines of the poem "Envoi." For example, the "gush" of waters onto the land is musically depicted through a brief running semiquaver figure in the soprano and alto voices (see Figure 4.30). Once again, the simplest of procedures is used to convey the mood and sentiment of the text with remarkable effect.

[75] Malcolm Williamson, "Conversation with Malcolm Williamson."

Figure 4.30 Williamson, *Symphony for Voices*, "Envoi," bb. 62-64.



The final movement of *Symphony for Voices*, "New Guinea," takes its text from the poem of the same name in McAuley's *A Vision of Ceremony*. As its title suggests, the poem "New Guinea" is not specifically about Australia and despite the geographical proximity of New Guinea to Australia and the national identity of the poet, there is no direct connection between the poem and Australia. Rather, the poem is about religious conversion, and like several other poems that McAuley wrote in the early 1950s, it suggests that it was through exorcism that the poet was brought to the Catholic faith.[76]

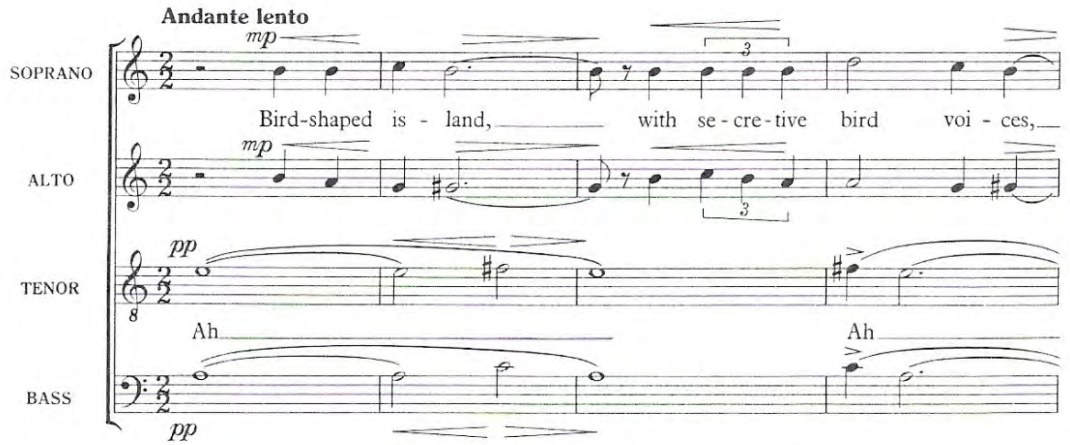
Like many of McAuley's poems, the themes of nature[77] and religion are once again united in this text and Williamson matched this in the music by providing a corresponding synthesis of ideas, as melodic themes presented in earlier movements reach a form of

[76] The last two stanzas in particular reflect McAuley's belief that exorcism and conversion are inextricably linked. In these stanzas McAuley expresses his "deep longing for an exorciser" and states that his belief that "Only by this can life become authentic." James McAuley, "New Guinea," *A Vision of Ceremony* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1956), 19. McAuley wrote the poem "New Guinea" following the death in 1953 of an Archbishop he had befriended in New Guinea during the time he spent there in the 1940s and 1950s as an employee of the Australian School of Pacific Administration. Archbishop de Boismenu had had an influential role in McAuley's spiritual development. During a visit to New Guinea in December 1951, McAuley contracted malaria and for several days he was bed ridden and battling against the vivid nightmares that had troubled him since his youth. In these dreams, McAuley fought against the devil, which he believed was trying to deflect him from his path towards God. Archbishop de Boismenu was at his side, nursing him through the illness and in McAuley's dreams, the Archbishop became the exorcist. Following this experience, McAuley accepted the faith of the Catholic Church and in May 1953 he was formally baptised. Cassandra Pybus, *The Devil and James McAuley* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1999), 111-13.

[77] For example, the poem opens with a poetic vision of the landscape itself: "Bird-shaped island, with secretive bird-voices." James McAuley, 19.

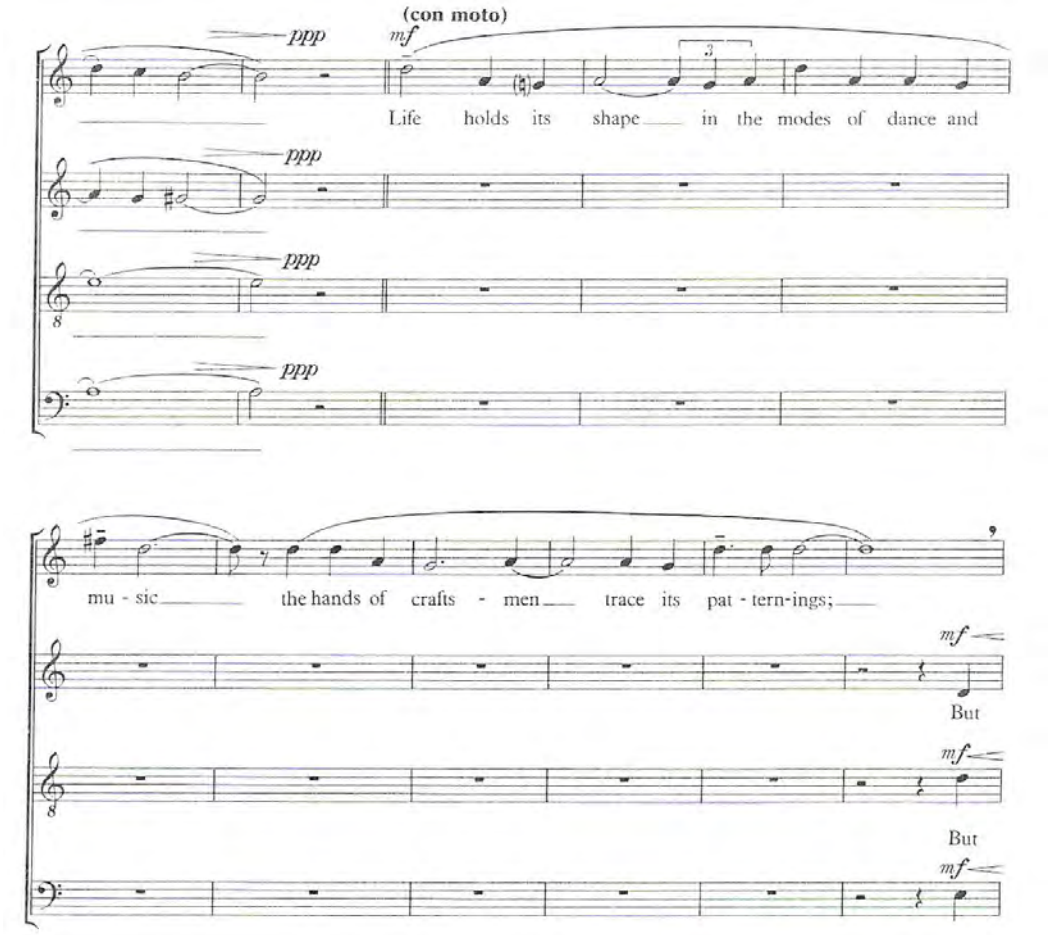
resolution. It seems that Williamson selected this poem because of its religious imagery and ideas about conversion, rather than because of any direct reference to his homeland. Despite the lack of an Australian connection in the verse, Williamson created a link between "New Guinea" and the other "Australian" movements in *Symphony for Voices* in order to unify the score. For example, the movement opens with long, sustained notes in the tenor and bass parts vocalised on the word "Ah," reminiscent of the opening of the second movement, "Terra Australis." The soprano and alto voices then enter with a simple chant-like melody evocative of plainsong, which supports the religious sentiment of the text and creates a firm link with the other four movements of the work (see Figure 4.31).

Figure 4.31 Williamson, *Symphony for Voices*, "New Guinea," bb. 1-4.



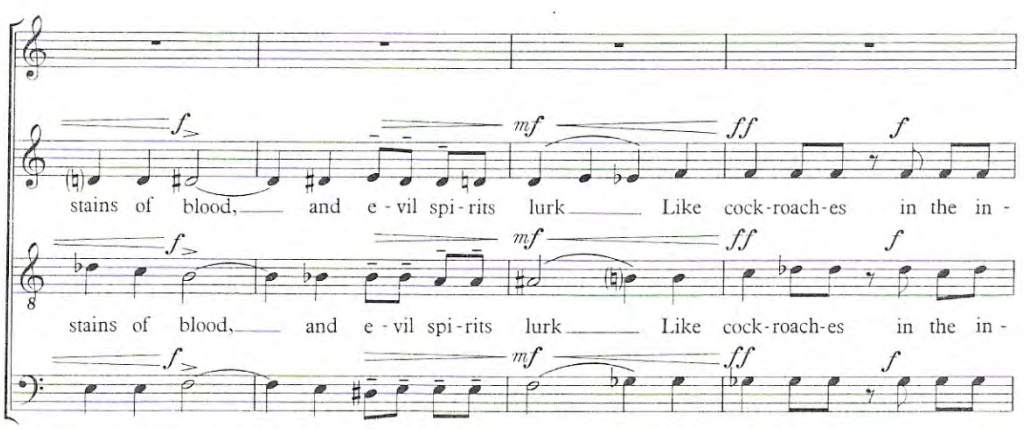
Williamson also used vivid word painting in "New Guinea" to support the meaning of McAuley's text, just as he did in the movements with texts based on recognisably Australian subjects. For example, he employed a gaping, modal-sounding melody on D for the line, "Life holds its shape in the modes of dance and music," obviously taking inspiration for this passage from the words "modes" and "music" (see Figure 4.32).

Figure 4.32 Williamson, *Symphony for Voices*, "New Guinea," bb. 46-56.



As the mood of the text gathers intensity through McAuley's imaginative evocations in discursive verse of "stains of blood," "evil spirits" and "cockroaches," Williamson responded accordingly by employing the lower three vocal parts (alto, tenor and bass) in a loud, dissonant and declamatory style (see figure 4.33). The melody is chromatic, and in stark contrast to the modal melody of the previous passage.

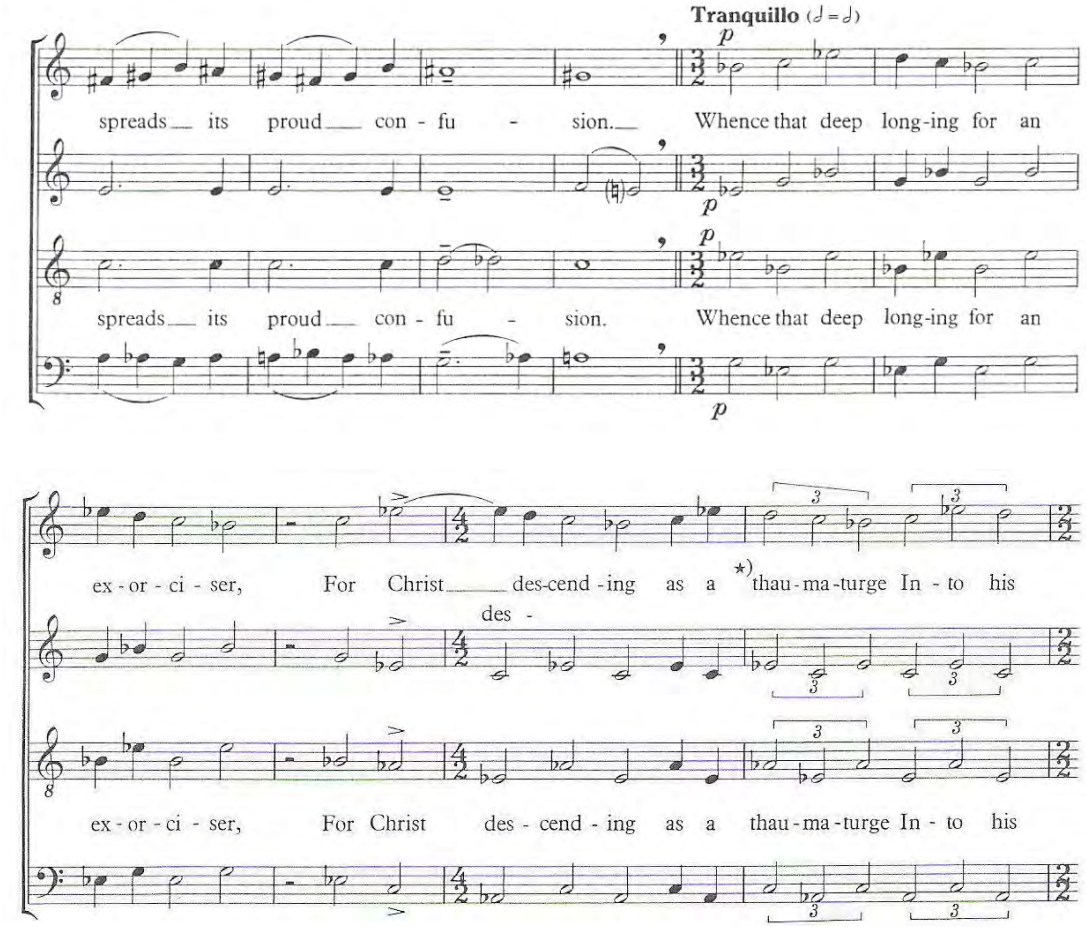
Figure 4.33 Williamson, *Symphony for Voices*, "New Guinea," bb. 57-60.



Symphony for Voices draws to a close with a gentle tonal conclusion, marked "tranquillo." The text that accompanies this passage witnesses McAuley's affirmation of his personal belief in conversion through exorcism and his longing for a union with God. Williamson supported this text with a final reference to the "controlling" perfect fourth motive heard in the opening bars of the first movement. As Williamson himself stated, at the words "Whence that great longing for an exorcisor," the controlling motive appears in its simplest and clearest form,[78] as if to suggest that some sort of resolution of feelings and beliefs has been reached. Instead of the complex, partially-serialised form that the motive took in the first movement, in the final movement this motive appears in the key of E flat major (see figure 4.34) and progresses through a number of major and minor keys before concluding with a final A major chord. The consonant, tonal conclusion to the symphony creates a peaceful atmosphere that is consistent with the cathartic effect experienced by both McAuley and Williamson upon their conversions to Catholicism.[79]

[78] Malcolm Williamson, "Symphony for Voices" liner notes, The Record Society R.S. 6190.
[79] Williamson's included the letters "i.o.g.D." ("in omnibus glorificetur Deus," "That in all [things] God may be glorified") on the final page of the score of *Symphony for Voices*.

Figure 4.34 Williamson, *Symphony for Voices*, "New Guinea," bb. 75-84.



Although Williamson may not have experienced the dramatic conversion to Catholicism that McAuley did, his choice of poetry and the careful treatment he gave it suggests that he felt a strong affinity with McAuley's Christian beliefs and thoughts. Undoubtedly, Williamson selected each of the five poems in *Symphony for Voices* because they expressed similar Christian beliefs to those that he had embraced upon his own conversion and because of their vivid depictions of the Australia that he had known as a child in the 1930s and 1940s. The themes of searching and discovery evident in McAuley's poetry, particularly "Terra Australis," were also akin to the composer's personal journey as an expatriate to find a place in the world to belong and to feel accepted. The Church was one such place where Williamson found refuge. He perhaps also found comfort and a sense of belonging when he associated with other Australians, such as McAuley, and collaborated

with them on projects with Australian themes. Banding together with other Australians, including expatriates, provided an even stronger point of connection with the homeland, as was shown in Chapter 2. It can be concluded, therefore, that Williamson used the poetry of this notable Australian as a vehicle through which he could express his own Christian beliefs and project his own Australian identity publicly and in the process, counteract some of the feelings of isolation and statelessness associated with the expatriate experience.

Symphony for Voices as a whole demonstrates Williamson's skill at matching literary and musical moods and generally, it received very positive reviews following its first performance by the John Alldis Choir in May 1962 at the Holy Trinity Church, London.[80] Shortly afterwards, a recording of the work was released on an album entitled *Four British Composers*,[81] which was indicative of the fact that although Williamson had lived in England for only a decade, and despite the fact that the work was distinctly Australian in character and subject matter, the composer was considered by some people to be predominantly British. In a British review of this recording, *Symphony for Voices* was described as, "beautifully conceived and 'orchestrated'. . . [demonstrating] the richness of Williamson's imagination and the resourcefulness of his methods, both focused by the basic theme – a poetic vision of Australasia."[82] Other British critics described the work as "a magnificently rich piece,"[83] and an example of Williamson's "finest choral writing to date,"[84] sounding "as individually nostalgic as ever."[85] Another critic identified Williamson's use of serial methods within a tonal context as "an important element in the deceptive accessibility of his extremely individual and complex style, which is already

[80] The John Alldis Choir was established in 1962 and *Symphony for Voices* is dedicated to its leader, John Alldis, who conducted the first performance.
[81] This recording was released by the Gulbenkian series of contemporary British music (ZRG 758) and also featured works by Alexander Goehr, Peter Maxwell Davies and Richard Rodney Bennett.
[82] Martin Cooper, "Recent Records," *Daily Telegraph*, 23 June 1975.
[83] Barrie Grayson, "Contemporary British Music," *Birmingham Mail*, 21 August 1965.
[84] *Glos. Echo*, 3 November 1965, no date or author given, available from Josef Weinberger archive, London; accessed June 2006.
[85] *Gramophone* (May 1975), no date or author given, available from Josef Weinberger archive, London; accessed June 2006.

well developed and distinctive in this *Symphony for Voices*."[86] While the *Symphony for Voices* was praised for its accessibility, it was, in fact, the work's serious mood that gained the most attention from critics, who were perhaps relieved that the work did not echo the stylistic traits of Williamson's earlier light Church pieces, as the following excerpt from a review suggests:

> It is the best work of Williamson's since he made the hazardous channel crossing from so-called light music some years ago. Here he is back on the shore from which he set out, and seems to be much the wiser . . . .[87]

Unfortunately, and perhaps also not surprisingly, the reviews from Australia were not so favourable. While the observations of Australian critics were perceptive, their judgement seems to have been affected by the tall-poppy syndrome, with one critic reporting:

> [The second and third movements] took the form of rather densely layered plainsong. Then an aggressive scherzo-equivalent, *Envoi*, led into the eerie, semi-mystical final movement, *New Guinea* . . . . [For all the preparation required to sing it well] the piece seems tiresomely earnest.[88]

The year after Williamson completed *Symphony for Voices*, he composed another two works with texts from McAuley's *A Vision of Ceremony*: a cantata for high voice and piano titled *Celebration of Divine Love* (1963)[89] after the poem of the same name; and a short Christmas carol for bass and soprano soloists, SATB choir and organ entitled *An Australian Carol* (*Nativity*) (1963), based on the poem "Nativity." Like the poem "New Guinea," McAuley's "Celebration of Divine Love" and "Nativity" are Christian poems

[86] "Composers Quartet," *Daily Telegraph*, August 1965, available from Josef Weinberger archive, London; accessed June 2006.
[87] David Drew, *New Statesman*, 25 May 1962.
[88] Peter Burch, "Honest Endeavour is No Substitute," *The Australian*, 25 September 1979, 10.
[89] *Celebration of Divine Love* is dedicated to the soprano Barbara Elsy, who gave the first performance of the work, with Williamson at the piano, at a concert in St. James' Square, London, in April 1963. The score was published in 1967.

without specifically Australian references.[90] "New Guinea" and "Celebration of Divine Love" can be viewed as autobiographical poems which trace McAuley's physical, psychological and spiritual journey towards conversion, while "Nativity" provides a unique description of the scene of Jesus' birth.[91] Both "Celebration of Divine Love" and "Nativity" contain evocative descriptions of nature, although without reference to a specific place. Considering that the only solid point of connection between the two musical works and Australia is the national identity of the poet and composer and the inclusion of the word "Australian" in the title *An Australian Carol*, a detailed discussion of these pieces is not relevant here. However, like *Symphony for Voices*, the two later McAuley works demonstrate the importance that Williamson placed on text expression and are early exercises in the sensitive style of vocal writing that later earned him wide acclaim.[92]

Williamson's musical response to "Celebration of Divine Love" is particularly perceptive, imaginative and remarkably well-suited to the ideas, mood and fluency of the text. Like *Symphony for Voices*, *Celebration of Divine Love* features the use of non-twelve-tone serial ideas within a tonal framework, as well as vivid word painting, references to intoning and plainsong and a gentle, tonal conclusion which supports the cathartic outcome of the text.[93] The work also shows the influence of Messiaen in the employment of notes with

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[90] "Celebration of Divine Love" should be read alongside its earlier companion piece, "Celebration of Love," published in *Under Aldebaran* (1946). Like "Celebration of Love," "Celebration of Divine Love" is about the renewing powers of love. It is frequently described as an "impressive hymn" and is one of McAuley's longest and most specifically Christian poems. Vivian Smith, 1970, 18, 22.

[91] Like many of McAuley's poems, "Nativity" is based on the theme of light, which in most instances is representative of the light of Christ. James McAuley, 13.

[92] Despite this, *Celebration of Divine Love* was not particularly well received during the 1960s. Following a performance by the dedicatee, Barbara Elsy, and Williamson in London in September 1965, *The Guardian* reported "Malcolm Williamson for once disappointed," while a critic from *The Richmond Times* described the cantata as a "very punishing piece." *Richmond Times*, 25 September 1965. The work was later performed at Williamson's seventieth birthday concert at Wigmore Hall, London, in 2001. *An Australian Carol* (*Nativity*) consists of a sombre melody based around the tonal centre of F minor. It was published in Louis Halsey and Basil Ramsey, *Sing Nowell: 51 Carols New and Arranged* (London: Novello, 1963).

[93] Examples of word painting can be seen in the setting of the second stanza of text, where a turn-like melodic motive is used to depict the "winding ruts as the slow wheels turn" and a syllabic, monotonic figure is employed to express the meaning of the word "tuneless." The vocal melody in this section explores all the

added values and the lack of a time signature in the piano introduction. The debt to Messiaen is particularly relevant to *Celebration of Divine Love*, considering that Messiaen was a deeply committed Catholic who viewed nature as "a manifestation of one of the aspects of divinity."[94] Overall, the work gives the impression that Williamson found in McAuley's text and Messiaen's compositional devices a language to express his own thoughts about his personal conversion to Catholicism.

Undoubtedly, Williamson selected each of the poems in *Symphony for Voices*, *Celebration of Divine Love* and *An Australian Carol* (*Nativity*) because they resonated with his own religious beliefs, as well as his sense of himself as an Australian. The affinity Williamson felt for McAuley's texts was a direct result of the common experiences these artists shared: they were both Australians, both converts to Roman Catholicism and both held intense interest in nature, literature and music. All of these elements can be traced in the works of both poet and composer, influenced according to their unique experiences as Australian creative artists.

In conjunction with the *Sydney* book of *Travel Diaries*, the works with texts by McAuley reflect Williamson's experience as an Australian expatriate. Not only do these works show the influence of European trends on his musical style, and particularly the works of Britten, Bartók and Messiaen, but they also demonstrate a divergence from strict European compositional methods and traditions in order to create music that is universally accessible and that reflects the composer's Australian heritage. This divergence is particularly

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intervals within a tritone before extending outside the interval, a similar technique to that employed in *Symphony for Voices*. A circle of fifths progression is used to underpin a phrase about spiritual awareness, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem . . . ," suggesting a sense of clarity and order that comes with the acceptance of faith. A similar effect is achieved in the setting of the final stanza of "Celebration of Divine Love," which features a gentle, tonal melody and accompaniment. Like the conclusion of "New Guinea," this passage suggests catharsis through conversion. This was an experience common to both McAuley and Williamson, who each maintained their practice of Catholicism throughout the remainder of their lives, expressing their beliefs in their creative work.

[94] Olivier Messiaen in Claude Samuel, *Oliver Messiaen: Music and Colour, Conversations with Claude Samuel* (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1994), 34.

obvious in Williamson's combination of tonal structures and non-twelve-tone serial devices in the McAuley works and is also evident in the *Travel Diaries*; imaginative, inclusive pieces written for the purpose of educating young and developing pianists. The inclusive, egalitarian philosophy that Williamson adopted was shaped by his cultural background, as discussed in previous chapters, and was particularly common among Australian expatriate creative artists who were attempting to find a wide audience for their work and gain acceptance in society.

In addition, the compositions discussed in this chapter show Williamson's commitment to maintaining a link with the country of his birth and projecting a recognisably Australian identity through his music to the country of his birth, as well as abroad. Although he claimed that his music was "characteristically Australian" without him attempting to make it so,[95] it is clear from this discussion of works composed for Australia during the early 1960s that Williamson was consciously attempting to create a nexus between his music and Australia at this time. Williamson's connection with his homeland was further strengthened in 1964 as a result of his contribution to the ballet *The Display*. This great Australian artistic enterprise combined the talents of three successful expatriates and saw Williamson's talent as a composer and status as an expatriate criticised and displayed to the world.

[95] Malcolm Williamson, "A Composer's Heritage," 71.

Chapter Five

Williamson's Australian *Display*

In Australia, Williamson is perhaps best known for his contribution to the ballet *The Display*, which was premiered by the Australian Ballet at Her Majesty's Theatre, Adelaide, on 14 March 1964.[1] Commissioned by the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust for the 1964 Adelaide Festival of the Arts,[2] *The Display* was based on essentially Australian topoi and fused the creative talents of three Australian expatriate artists; Robert Helpmann, who wrote the scenario and devised the choreography; Sidney Nolan, who designed the décor; and Williamson, who composed the score. While each of these creative artists had lived abroad for well over a decade prior to their work on *The Display*, none had previously collaborated with other expatriates on a work with a uniquely Australian theme. This chapter will focus on Williamson's contribution to *The Display* and will examine the ways in which his musical score supported and evoked the Australian ideas inherent in the ballet's scenario. Importantly, this discussion will show that *The Display* offered Williamson, as well as Helpmann and Nolan, the opportunity to contribute to a large-scale Australian artistic enterprise through which they could openly express their personal feelings about their homeland and address issues arising from their experiences as expatriates.

The Display takes its name and dramatic inspiration from the mating dance of the lyrebird, for which the ornithological term is "display." The lyrebird (*Menura superba*) is a ground-dwelling species of bird found only in the south-east of Australia, most commonly in

[1] The world premiere of *The Display* featured Kathleen Gorham as "The Female," Bryan Lawrence as "The Leader," Garth Welsh as "The Outsider," and Barry Kitcher as "The Male." *The Display: A Dance Symphony* was performed by the Sydney Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Albert Rosen. The score is published by Josef Weinberger.

[2] By 1964, within the short timeframe of four years, the biennial Adelaide Festival had established itself as the undisputed focus for the arts in Australia, with 165 scheduled performances of music, drama and dance and almost thirty art exhibitions. Brian Adams, *Nolan: Such is Life* (Melbourne: Hutchinson, 1987), 170.

temperate rainforests. It is known for its extraordinary ability to mimic sounds, both natural and artificial, from its environment, and for its strikingly beautiful tail plumage which is displayed during its mating dance (see Figure 5.1).[3] The image of the lyrebird with its tail fanned into the shape of a lyre has increasingly become associated with Australia and is used symbolically to represent several Australian companies and organisations, including the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service and the Australian Army Band Corps. Its image also appears on the reverse of the Australian ten cent coin.

Figure 5.1 The "display" of a lyrebird (*Menura superba*).[4]

Helpmann's scenario for *The Display* draws a parallel between the mating habits of this uniquely Australian bird and the desire of the human Australian male to attract the female.[5] The ballet opens with the male lyrebird, known as "The Male," dancing his proud and

[3] Robert Helpmann quoted in Ian Brown, ed. *The Australian Ballet 1962-1965: A Record of the Company, its Dancers and its Ballets* (Melbourne: Longmans, 1967), 78. In addition to bird calls, the lyrebird has been known to imitate the sounds of chainsaws, explosions, dogs barking, babies crying and musical instruments.
[4] Photograph by Stephen Bay, available from http://BayImages.net; Internet; accessed 2 September 2006.
[5] Robert Helpmann quoted in Ian Brown, 120.

unique display for a human female ("The Female") deep in the Australian rainforest.[6] He dances display after display, arousing The Female's attention and she responds by dancing her own solo display for The Male. This opening scene sets the atmosphere and theme for the ballet's two central movements, which focus on a group of young Australian men and women who have gathered in the forest for a picnic. The men drink beer and handball a football around in typical Australian-Rules style, while the women congregate downstage around a picnic basket. The men exhibit stereotypically-Australian male behaviour, such as a penchant for sport and excessive beer-drinking, in order to display their masculinity and attract the females of the group.[7] This is especially true of the leader of the group ("The Leader"), who dances athletic solo displays for The Female. His obvious attraction to The Female is reciprocated until a stranger enters the scene ("The Outsider"). At first, The Outsider is welcomed by The Leader and the other males in the group, as they shake hands and share a beer. However, the group's attitude towards The Outsider changes when he and The Female begin to show an increased interest in one another.

The Female continues to dance with The Leader, but directs her body language towards the admiring Outsider, reaching her arms out towards him and attracting his attention. In their eagerness to impress The Female, the males of the group engage in a football match. However, rather than being a friendly game, it becomes a rowdy exhibition of athleticism and masculinity. Following the football match, The Outsider dances his own rather effeminate display for The Female, which triggers The Leader's jealousy. In the scene that concludes the second movement, the Leader becomes increasingly aggressive towards The Outsider and consumes an excessive amount of beer. The women attempt to distract The

[6] The use of the name "The Male" for the lyrebird was just one device that Helpmann employed to create a parallel between the bird and the human males in the ballet.
[7] According to findings published in the *Journal of Research for Consumers* in 2005, these activities are commonly regarded as typically Australian pursuits. Simone Pettigrew, "Australians and their Leisure Time," *Journal of Research for Consumers* 6 (2005).

Female and lead her away, however, as the group disperses, she remains on stage with The Outsider and together they dance a passionate *pas de deux*.[8]

The Outsider's advances towards The Female enrage The Leader and he challenges The Outsider to a fight. The group surrounds The Outsider and displays its united force through combat-inspired dance movements.[9] The group wrestles and attacks The Outsider and he falls to the ground in pain. The Female, who is unable to bear the sight before her, flees, dropping her scarf behind her. The company departs and The Outsider is left unconscious and alone on the forest floor. When he finally wakes, he sees the scarf left by the Female and leaves in search of her, intent on exacting revenge for the pain and humiliation she has caused him.

At the beginning of the final movement, The Outsider finds The Female deep in the forest, where she is listening to the cries of the lyrebird. The Outsider suddenly seizes hold of The Female and attempts to kiss her. A struggle ensues and her dress is torn, as The Outsider sexually assaults her. Like the mating ritual of the lyrebird, once the act is completed, The Outsider leaves the scene abruptly, abandoning The Female in the forest. The ballet concludes with a final appearance by The Male, who displays his enormous fan-shaped tail to The Female and shrieks, as if to his mate.[10] The Female rises to her knees and, in a symbolic gesture, allows the lyrebird to bring his fanned tail down over her, willingly succumbing to the bird's display.[11]

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[8] Meaning "dance" or "step for two."
[9] Amanda Card, "Violence, Vengeance and Violation: 'The Display,' A 'Powerful Dramatic Work, Intended to be Very Australian,'" *Australasian Music Research* 4 (1999): 79.
[10] Simon Campion, "The Display Concert Suite," *Malcolm Williamson*, LP, EMI, 1978.
[11] "Synopsis: The Display," Malcolm Williamson press clipping folder, Australian Music Centre Library, Sydney.

The two scenes that depict The Male mounting his display frame the central action between the human males and females and are used symbolically to draw a parallel between the mating rituals of the lyrebird and the desire of the human male to display his prowess to attract the female. The lyrebird provided Helpmann with an iconic image and male behaviour that was identifiably Australian, but simultaneously comprehensible at an international level, while the subordinate themes of the ballet were clichés of the Australian "way of life:" a love of the outdoors, of all forms of sport (particularly Australian-Rules football), excessive beer-drinking, the segregation of the sexes, a tendency towards both flirtation and violence, and the resentment of the group or the mass to individuals who do not follow the "norm."[12]

Helpmann's depiction in the ballet's scenario of what he described as the "hostility of a group to any outsider who does not wish to be part of communal life; how a number of people when they band together in a mob can lose their humanity and become brutalised"[13] was derived from his own personal experience. During Helpmann's youth, his interest in the ballet and his dress sense had frequently left him feeling segregated from mainstream Australian society. He once recalled that in the late 1920s, before he left Australia, he had been publicly humiliated by a group of lifesavers at Bondi Beach, Sydney, who unceremoniously dumped him into the surf because with his Oxford bags, pink shirt, purple tie, plucked eyebrows and painted red nails, he looked different.[14] He later explained, "A slight hang-over from my youth [is the] resentment of the group, or the mass, to the individual who did not conform to accepted standards . . . the memory of my

[12] Robert Helpmann quoted in Ian Brown, 120.
[13] Robert Helpmann quoted in Elizabeth Salter, *Helpmann: The Authorised Biography of Sir Robert Helpmann, CBE* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1978), 216. As Joel Crotty has observed, "In his theatrical way, Helpmann tried to demonstrate that a homogeneous culture, in which difference was not tolerated, would nurture violence." Joel Crotty, "Choreographic Music in Australia, 1913-1964: From Foreign Reliance to an Independent Australian Stance," Ph.D. dissertation, Monash University, June 1999, 211.
[14] Elizabeth Salter, 40.

being regarded as somewhat extraordinary in my wish to become a ballet dancer helped contribute to the theme of this ballet [*The Display*]."[15]

At one point or another, all three expatriate creative artists involved in this project had felt like outsiders in Australian society. Sidney Nolan, like Williamson, settled in London permanently in the early 1950s and despite remaining there until his death in 1992, he continued to project a clear Australian identity in his artwork. In 1964, the same year that he contributed to *The Display*, Nolan claimed "I know there'll always be a kind of refracted Australianism in my work . . . no matter how long I stay away."[16] While he became one of the most successful Australian painters in London,[17] like Williamson and Helpmann, Nolan was at times deeply affected by the criticism he received from the Australian press, especially over claims that he had "sold out" on his home country.[18] Simultaneously, however, he saw elements of the Australian character in himself, stating:

> I have to say I don't think Australians are very fair fighters, but must add that I don't consider myself one either. That means we're well-matched.[19]

Despite the criticism he received, Nolan continued to produce works inspired by Australia, including the acclaimed series of paintings depicting the notorious nineteenth-century Australian bushranger, Ned Kelly. Ned Kelly was a subject that had preoccupied Nolan since the mid-1940s and continued to provide inspiration for his work in England, as it allowed sufficient scope to satisfy his deep interest in the nature of the Australian landscape.[20] Nolan's *Ned Kelly* series of paintings achieved recognition in London and Paris before they were celebrated in Australia, which reflected the ongoing tendency for

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[15] Robert Helpmann quoted in Ian Brown, 120.
[16] Sidney Nolan quoted in Brian Adams, 167.
[17] Nolan was the recipient of numerous awards, including a Knighthood (1983), a Companion of the Order of Australia (1988) and four honorary doctorates (from universities in York, London, Canberra and Sydney).
[18] Bruce Bennett, *Spirit in Exile: Peter Porter and His Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 90.
[19] Sidney Nolan quoted in Brian Adams, 259.
[20] Andrew Sayers, *Australian Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 168-69.

Australian creative artists and their creative products to have to "fight [their] way home to [their] own country by way of England," as Henry Lawson and many others had previously experienced.[21] The fact that Nolan received recognition in Australia after achieving success abroad was also indicative of the positive effect that an imprimatur from "overseas" could have on an expatriate's career and reception in Australia at that time.

Nolan's preoccupation with myth, as demonstrated in the *Ned Kelly* series, also provided the inspiration for a series of works that he produced in the years immediately prior to his work on *The Display* and with a very similar "female and bird" theme, the *Leda and the Swan* series (1958-60). The ancient mythological theme of Leda and the Swan was the subject of a total of seventy-five works that Nolan exhibited at Matthiesen's Gallery in London in the summer of 1960. Consisting of forty-four large panels painted in polyvinyl acetate and thirty-one smaller-scale oil on paper works, the exhibition was a "huge and immediate success"[22] in Britain, however, when it was taken to Australia the following year, it did not receive such a warm reception. The Sydney-based artist John Olsen remarked that the paintings had been "contaminated with the over-ripe atmosphere of Bond Street," implying that Nolan had lost something of his Australian identity in London, despite the fact that his homeland continued to give his work its primary inspiration.

According to Nolan, the inspiration for the *Leda and the Swan* series came from his observation of the swans in London, the coloured lights that reflected on the River Thames from his studio at Putney, the visual form of his stepdaughter swimming underwater and an unpublished poem by a little-known Australian writer, Alwyn Lee, the concluding lines of which read:

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[21] Henry Lawson, "The Sydney *Bulletin*," in B. Kiernan, ed., *Portable Australian Authors: Henry Lawson* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1976), 355.
[22] Jane Clark, *Sidney Nolan: Landscapes & Legends* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 116. *The Sunday Times*, 19 June 1960. Purchasers included the Queen, Agatha Christie, Rod Steiger and the Art Gallery of NSW.

Until black Jupiter with
snake-like head
Has taken lubra Leda to her bed,
And everything, including tears,
Are shed.[23]

Nolan's *Leda and the Swan* series features predominantly dark backgrounds with the figures of Leda and the Swan emphasised through the use of bold splashes of colour.[24] Leda appears in a variety of poses and moods, sometimes submissive and frightened of the Swan (see figure 5.2), other times aggressive.

Figure 5.2 Sidney Nolan, *Leda and the Swan* (c.1960, Polyvinyl acetate on hardboard, 91.5 x 122.0 cm).[25]

Nolan became completely preoccupied with the subject of Leda and the Swan, as he had with the story of Ned Kelly, later admitting "I found my mind full of images of necks and

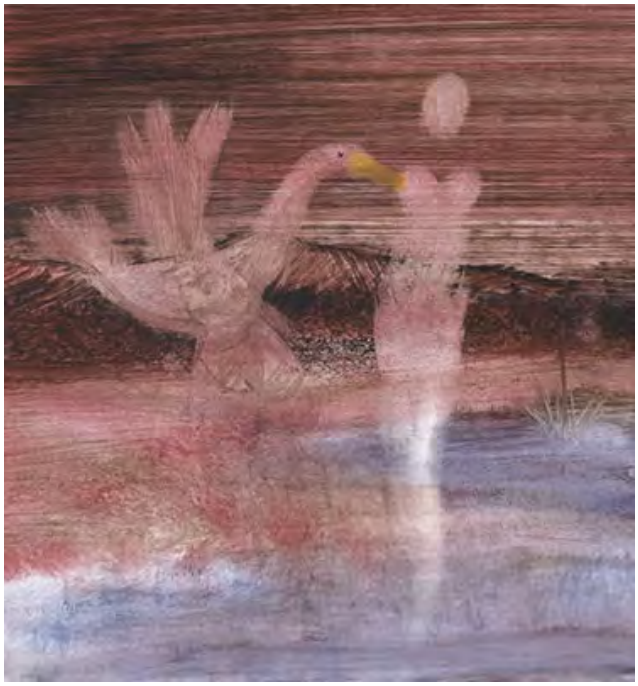
[23] Brian Adams, 146. Alwyn Lee was friends with Alan Moorehead and Robert Hughes. He had studied at the University of Melbourne in the 1930s, before leaving Australia in 1939 to work for *Time* magazine in America. Robert Hughes, *Things I Didn't Know: A Memoir* (Sydney: Knopf, 2006), 307-8.
[24] Michel Strauss, "Current and Forthcoming Exhibitions," *The Burlington Magazine* vol. 102, no. 688 (July 1960), 338.
[25] "Sir Sidney Nolan (1917-1992) Important Paintings, Works on Paper and Graphics 1940-1985," http://www.evabreuerartdealer.com.au/nolan.html; Internet; accessed 2 September 2006.

wings."[26] The artist's first wife, Cynthia Nolan, spoke of Nolan's fascination with the subject in 1958:

> Over and over again he was painting Leda and the Swan. Sometimes the woman was bloody, the swan very savage. Often the figure was ambiguous, incidental, unidentified, the swan was not.[27]

An example of the latter type of painting described by Cynthia Nolan can be seen in Figure 5.3, in which the swan is quite clearly identified, with its beak and eye emphasised, while the figure of Leda appears transparent and expressionless.

Figure 5.3 Nolan, *Leda and the Swan* (c.1960, Ripolin and dyes on paper, 25.0 x 23.0 cm).[28]



Nolan's collaboration with Helpmann and Williamson on *The Display* a few years later provided him with the opportunity to contribute to a large-scale dramatic art form that

[26] Sidney Nolan quoted in Jane Clark, 133.
[27] Cynthia Nolan quoted in Jane Clark, 131.
[28] "Rare and Major Works by Sir Sidney Nolan (1917-1992)," http://www.evabreuerartdealer.com.au/nolan_paintings/_pages/nolanex.html; Internet; accessed 2 September 2006.

utilised a similar story to the myth of Leda and the Swan; however, this time, it had a strong connection to his homeland.

The idea of using the display of the lyrebird as a dramatic theme for a ballet occurred to Helpmann in 1955, when he returned to Australia for the first time in over twenty years.[29] He was accompanied by his friend and colleague, Katharine Hepburn, and as international "stars," their movements were watched intently by the Australian press and public. During his visit, Helpmann saw a different Australia to the one he had left over two decades before. In particular, he observed a notable advance in the local cultural scene, stating:

> The arts in Australia have had an outstanding change since I was last here. When I left it was difficult for an Australian artist to be able to work either in ballet or classical drama, now you have a flourishing ballet company . . . the Elizabethan theatre trust, ballet groups and symphony orchestras in every state. This is a thrilling advance since, in the long run, every country is largely judged by what it produces in art form.[30]

Helpmann also spoke of his feelings towards his homeland, admitting, "I loved Australia this time . . . I saw it through Kate [Hepburn]'s eyes . . . she adored it."[31] He promised the Australian public many return visits, stating, "I love my country . . . it always lures me back . . . and back I intend to come,"[32] and spoke of his vision for numerous future Australian projects, many of which were never realised. However, Helpmann's 1955 visit did directly influence one of his most successful Australian projects. During their time in Australia, Hepburn expressed a wish to view the native lyrebird in its natural surroundings and Helpmann indulged her interest by taking her camping in Sherbrooke forest in the

[29] Helpmann moved to London in the early 1930s. His 1955 return visit was part of a tour with the Old Vic Company.
[30] Robert Helpmann quoted in Elizabeth Salter, 186.
[31] Robert Helpmann quoted in Anna Kisselgoff, "Helpmann and Dancers Here From Australia," *New York Times*, 26 January 1971, 26.
[32] Robert Helpmann quoted in Elizabeth Salter, 239.

Dandenong Ranges, near Melbourne.[33] There they witnessed the display of the lyrebird first-hand:

> We had to wait in our sleeping bags for ten long nights before we saw them, but after that we did quite often. They came out and performed for us, born theatricals who build a tiny stage with mounds of earth behind on which they prop ferns. Each makes his entrance and exit and the dance is a routine . . . . As they dance their lyre-shaped tails, purplish outside and white at the centre, shimmer. It was watching them that gave me my idea for the ballet *The Display* which, of course, I dedicated to Kate.[34]

Helpmann drew a parallel between the display of the lyrebird and the desire of the human male to "display his prowess to attract the female" and decided that if ever he were approached to produce a ballet for the Australian company, he would use this idea as its central theme.[35]

This came to fruition in the early 1960s, when he was approached by Peggy van Praagh to produce a ballet for the newly-formed Australian Ballet. Helpmann believed it was important for the young company to have "essentially Australian ballets"[36] to "develop its individuality,"[37] and was confident that his lyrebird idea offered the perfect dramatic theme. He observed:

> So many ballets have been based on bird life, *Swan Lake, Firebird, Bluebird* and so on, but here was a bird that actually danced and could be found in no other country in the world but Australia. It, therefore, seemed to me the obvious choice.[38]

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[33] Elizabeth Salter, 182.
[34] Robert Helpmann quoted in Elizabeth Salter, 182-83.
[35] Robert Helpmann quoted in Ian Brown, 120.
[36] Robert Helpmann, "Conversation with Robert Helpmann," interview by Hazel de Berg, transcript of sound recording, 13 March 1964, National Library of Australia ORAL DeB 47. *The Display* was the first ballet that Helpmann choreographed for the Australian Ballet. Helpmann became joint director of the Australian Ballet with Peggy van Praagh in 1962, a position he held until1974, before leading it solely in 1975.
[37] Robert Helpmann quoted in Anna Kisselgoff, 26.
[38] Robert Helpmann quoted in Ian Brown, 120.

To make the ballet as authentically Australian as possible, Helpmann went in search of potential Australian expatriate collaborators in London and believed that he "could not have been more fortunate" in the choice of Williamson for the score and Nolan for the décor, as according to Helpmann, both composer and artist understood all the dramatic points he wanted to make "almost without discussion."[39] This was probably due, at least in part, to the fact that the collaborators shared the same nationality, as well as similar experiences as Australian expatriate creative artists. In fact, the collaboration itself, being a banding together of Australian expatriates, was essentially just another manifestation of the expatriate experience. Initially, Helpmann also approached the Australian novelist Patrick White about writing the scenario for *The Display*, however, when Helpmann read what White had produced he reportedly disliked it intensely and instead developed his own.[40] The choreography was completed later, after Helpmann had travelled to Australia to commence rehearsals with the Australian ballet and had assessed the skills and stylistic traits of the dancers concerned. As Helpmann had found with his fellow Australian expatriate collaborators, the dancers in the Australian Ballet quickly absorbed all the dramatic points he wanted to make in *The Display*. Helpmann later described the collaboration process in detail:

> In my first approach to this ballet I discussed with Malcolm Williamson the atmosphere as a whole and waited to see what music he would produce. After the first sketches we then, in detail, discussed the timing of each sequence until the score was completed in the comparatively short time of a month. At the same time

[39] Robert Helpmann quoted in Ian Brown, 120. Before Williamson left Australia to settle in London, he had worked as repetiteur for dancers at a local ballet company, which included a one-month tour of Tasmania. This experience had prepared him well for writing his first ballet score, although a few years after completing *The Display* he commented that he found the process of writing ballet music to be a "terrific challenge . . . where the expressive values of music have not the assistance of words and where the detailed story and the things which underlie the story . . . have all to be expressed in music . . . . It brought into use all the exercise I'd ever had in symphonic writing over a large canvas, and all the characterisation of opera, though composition for the ballet is quite a problem in itself." Malcolm Williamson in "Conversation with Malcolm Williamson," a sound recording transcript of an interview with Hazel de Berg conducted in Sydney on 8 October 1967, National Library of Australia ORAL DeB 290, 291, 292.

[40] Michelle Potter, "A Dash of Helpmann," *National Library of Australia News* vol. 13, no. 1 (October 2002). Helpmann viewed the plot as an indispensible element of ballet, stating, "because of my interest in drama, ballet which tells a story appeals to me more than ballet which is abstract." Robert Helpmann quoted in Elizabeth Salter, 216.

> I had discussions with Nolan regarding the theme, and he immediately produced the décor and the complete atmosphere for the ballet . . . . On my arrival in Australia to start rehearsals I had no preconceived idea of the movements except the *pas de deux*. I considered this a dangerous thing to do until I was familiar with the movements and style of the dancers concerned. I knew that it must be strongly athletic, virile and modern in its approach. . . . Although I had not pre-planned or conceived any of the movements, I had completed the choreography in fourteen days, which is very rare indeed. I was fortunate to be working with people completely in accord to myself and the whole atmosphere of the work.[41]

Helpmann was extremely proud of the fact that he had developed a ballet that was produced by Australian collaborators for Australians to dance and with a uniquely Australian theme. During an interview conducted by Hazel de Berg on the eve of *The Display*'s premiere, Helpmann made a bold claim about *The Display*'s place in the history of Australian ballet:

> Sidney Nolan, who has done the décor, is an Australian; Malcolm Williamson, who has written the score, is an Australian; the company who are dancing it are Australians, and to me, I am very proud that this should be the first 100 per cent Australian ballet that has been choreographed.[42]

Helpmann's claim that *The Display* was the "first 100 per cent Australian ballet" was probably nothing more than a publicity stunt, as there had been several ballets created prior to the 1960s with Australian themes, music, décor, and choreography.[43] Almost twenty years earlier, Edouard Borovansky, a newly naturalised Australian, had created *Terra Australis* (1946), with designs by Eve Harris, music by Esther Rofe and a libretto by Tom

[41] Robert Helpmann quoted in Ian Brown, 121.
[42] Robert Helpmann, "Conversation with Robert Helpmann."
[43] As Joel Crotty has noted, the idea of depicting Australians and Australian society in dance became a focal point for choreographers during the 1950s and reflected the increased interest amongst academics and press commentators in the task of defining "The Australian Way of Life." Joel Crotty, "Choreographic Music in Australia, 1913-1964," 189.

Rothfield.[44] Using symbolic characters, *Terra Australis* concerns the European exploration of Australia and the implications of this process on the indigenous population. It is among the first Australian ballets with a theme pertaining to indigenous Australia. The librettist, Rothfield, explained his and Borovansky's intentions during a radio interview recorded shortly before the premiere of *Terra Australis*:

> [Borovansky] had ideas very definitely then about creating an Australian ballet to be danced by Australians and the music to be written here, the story here and the décor here . . . . We were concerned with writing the true story of Australia and naturally the fate of the Aboriginal [sic] came into it. And if the national conscience is stirred by the ballet, well so much the better.[45]

Borovansky went on to produce several other ballets with Australian themes for his Australian company, the Borovansky Ballet, which is recognised as Australia's first enduring professional ballet company.[46] These include a ballet about the discovery of Western Australia entitled *The Black Swan* (1949) and a ballet based on the life and times of the Australian bushranger Ned Kelly called *The Outlaw* (1951) with music by the Australian theatre composer and conductor Verdon Williams.[47] Following the production of these ballets, Laurel Martyn produced the all-Australian *Sentimental Bloke* (1952) with designs by Charles Bush and music by John Tallis for Martyn's Victorian company, Ballet Guild.[48] This was followed in 1957 by Valrene Tweedie's *Wakooka* for the Elizabethan Opera Ballet Company with designs by Elaine Haxton and music by John Antill. However, while *The Display* was not the first "100 per cent" Australian ballet to be

[44] Michelle Potter, "Terra Australis," *National Library of Australia News* vol. 14, no. 1 (October 2003). *Terra Australis* premiered in Melbourne on 25 May 1946.
[45] Tom Rothfield quoted in Michelle Potter, "Terra Australis."
[46] Michelle Potter, "Terra Australis."
[47] Joel Crotty, "From Balletic Binge to Cultural Cringe: Choreographic Music in Australia, 1936-1956," *One Hand on the Manuscript: Music in Australian Cultural History 1930-1960* (Canberra: Humanities Research Centre, Australian National University, 1995): 220-21.
[48] Michelle Potter, "Terra Australis."

produced, it was certainly the first completely Australian ballet designed for the newly-formed Australian Ballet company.[49]

Williamson also viewed *The Display* as an Australian first. In an interview conducted by Hazel de Berg in 1967 he claimed that the work was "the first really ambitious Australian ballet to be written entirely by Australians for Australians to dance."[50] Both Williamson and Nolan were full of praise for Helpmann's identifiably Australian scenario; the composer described it as "worshiping the grandeur of savage Australian nature"[51] and Nolan identified its controversial themes as "a ritual description of our civilisation."[52] Together, Williamson and Nolan's contributions to *The Display* were original, realistic and supportive of the Australian setting of the work. In addition, the music, sets and costumes provided a strong foundation for Helpmann's choreography and helped to advance the narrative of the scenario.

The three collaborators firmly established *The Display*'s Australian setting in the opening scene of the ballet, which featured the lyrebird (The Male) dancing its display deep in the Australian rainforest. Nolan designed a detailed and complex costume for The Male, complete with a feathered tail that was capable of fanning open into the distinctive lyre shape during its mating dance (see figures 5.4 and 5.5).[53]

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[49] Two other ballets were produced in 1964 as the product of collaborations between Australians: *Roundelay*, with choreography by Ray Powell, music by James Penberthy and décor by John Brack, and *Jazz Spectrum*, with choreography by Betty Pounder, music by Les Patching and décor by John Truscott.
[50] Malcolm Williamson, "Conversation with Malcolm Williamson."
[51] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Robert Helpmann, *Tales of Helpmann: A Portrait of Sir Robert Helpmann* (Melbourne: Australian Film Institute).
[52] Cynthia Nolan quoted in Jane Clark, 149.
[53] Michelle Potter, "Spatial Boundaries: Sidney Nolan's Ballet Designs," *Brolga* (December 1995): 63. The costume was made from bamboo, nylon and horse hair and consisted of two wings, a headdress with a beak, feathers and eyes and a long tail built on a hinge. The dancer manipulated the tail into a fan-shape by pulling two small handles at the rear of the costume. The costume was built by Hugh Skillen, who at that time was costume and prop designer for the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden. Barry Kitcher, *From Gaolbird to Lyrebird* (Melbourne: Front Page, 2001), 245.

Figure 5.4 Nolan with costume for The Male during the 1987 revival of *The Display*.[54]

Nolan recreated the haunt of the lyrebird, which was also the setting for the ballet's central picnic scene, through sets painted with hues of dark green and ochre. The colours were used on both the floor and the backdrop, as well as on veils of painted gauze that hung vertically from the stage's ceiling like well-established gumtrees, creating a sense of spatial depth. Nolan's inventive use of gauzes, along with effective lighting techniques by the Australian lighting designer William Akers (b. 1929), successfully transformed the theatre's stage into a sunlight-shafted Australian rainforest (see Figure 5.5).[55]

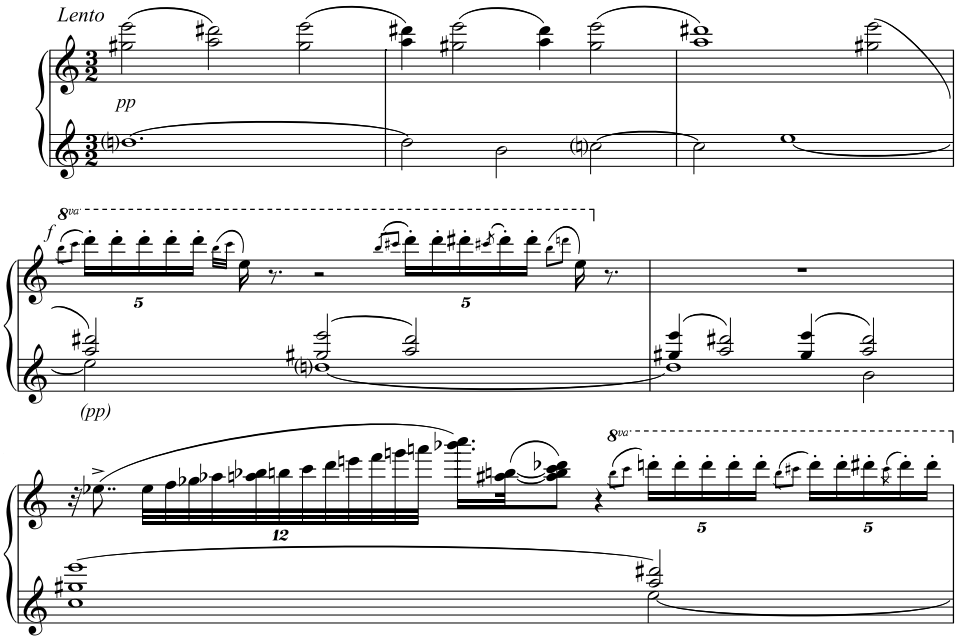
[54] Photo available from the National Library of Australia's "Australia Dancing" website, http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-vn3096147; Internet; accessed 15 October 2007.
[55] Michelle Potter, "Spatial Boundaries," 62-63.

Figure 5.5 The Male in *The Display*.[56]

The music Williamson composed for the opening rainforest scene is also highly evocative and supportive of the Australian atmosphere of the ballet. The score opens with slow, hypnotic passages from the strings that are interrupted by shrill bird calls from the flute, piccolo and clarinets.[57] The musical idea initiated by the strings is characterised by alternating minor sixth and tritone intervals, while the interval of a seventh dominates the shape of the bird calls (see Figure 5.6). These intervals, as well as the interval of a ninth, appear throughout the work and create a dissonant, uneasy sound world that is well suited to the dramatic themes of the ballet's action.

[56] Photo available from the National Library of Australia's website, http://nla.pic-an24527004-v; Internet; accessed 2 September 2006.
[57] The score is dedicated to Williamson's friend, mentor and fellow-Australian, Sir Bernard Heinze.

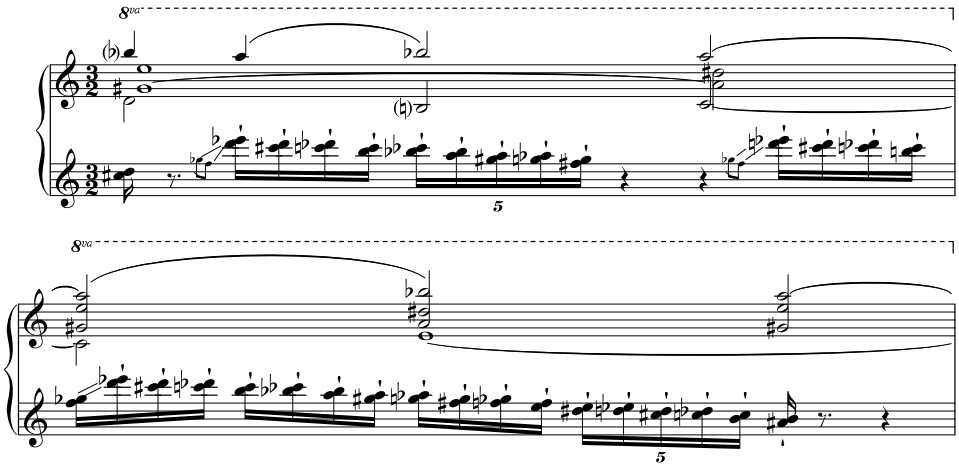
Figure 5.6 Williamson, *The Display*, first movement, bb. 1-6 (piano reduction).



In this opening movement, The Male lyrebird, known for imitating the calls of other birds, can be heard mimicking the sounds of a Laughing Kookaburra through descending chromatic passages played by the oboes (see Figure 5.7). The Laughing Kookaburra (*Dacelo novaeguineae*) is a large terrestrial species of Kingfisher native to Australia and New Guinea. Its distinctive call, which bears an uncanny resemblance to hysterical human laughter, has earned the species its status as one of the best known birds in Australia. The Male's mimicking of this call in *The Display* helps to reinforce the Australian setting of the ballet.[58]

[58] The name "Kookaburra" is a loan word from the indigenous Australian (Wiradjuri) word "guuguubarra," which is onomatopoeic of the bird's call. The Kookaburra's image has been featured on a series of Australian coins since 1990 and was the inspiration for one of the mascots of the Sydney Olympic Games in 2000.

Figure 5.7 Williamson, *The Display*, first movement, bb. 12-13.



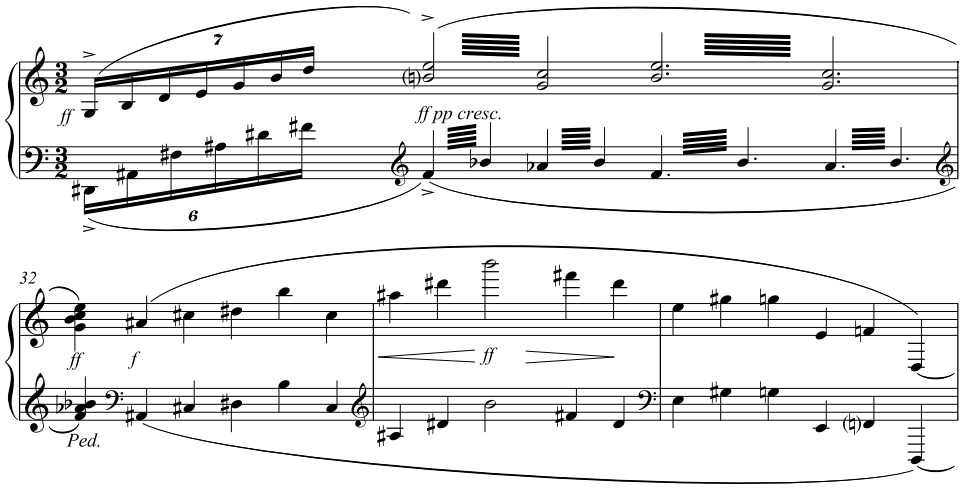
Other creatures, such as snakes and lizards can also be heard in the music of this scene, stirring in the undergrowth of the forest floor. Bird calls and other natural bush sounds have been employed by a number of Australian composers, such as Henry Tate and Peter Sculthorpe, to encourage associations with the Australian landscape in their works and to strengthen the nexus between their music and a sense of Australia.[59] In a similar way, Williamson employs a variety of Australian bird calls and other natural sounds in *The Display* to represent Australia symbolically.

The music builds in intensity as The Male prepares to give his display. Dissonant tremolos from the strings introduce a majestic theme which encompasses a range of over three

[59] Henry Tate was an Australian music theorist and composer who advocated the establishment of a national identity in Australian music through the incorporation of characteristically Australian natural sounds, in particular, the distinctive calls of bush birds. Tate's theories can be found in his two publications: *Australian Musical Resources: Some Suggestions* (1917) and *Australian Musical Possibilities* (1924). Bird calls are present in the following works by Sculthorpe: *Irkanda I for Violin Alone* (1955), *Sun Music I* (1965), String Quartet No. 8 (1968), *Tabuh Tabuhan* (1968), *Landscape II* (1977), String Quartet No. 14 (1997) and *Quamby* for chamber orchestra (2000). For more information on the last two of these compositions see Carolyn Philpott, "Sculthorpe's String Quartet No. 14: A Musical Response to Social Injustice," *Context: Journal of Music Research* (2004): 83-96.

octaves (see Figure 5.8).[60] As this theme reaches its highest pitch (the "B" in bar 33), The Male brings his enormous tail vertical and opens it into its recognisable lyre form.

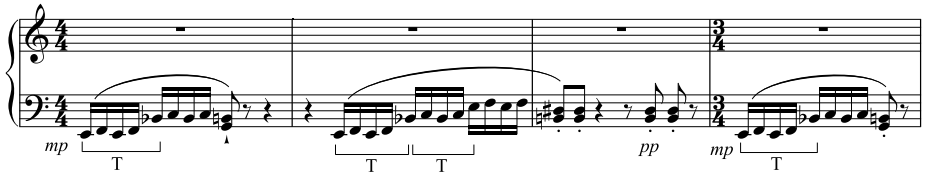
Figure 5.8 Williamson, *The Display*, first movement, bb. 31-34.



The skittish movements danced by The Male in this opening scene were learnt by Helpmann after many hours of watching real lyrebirds mount their display rituals.[61] Helpmann choreographed the dance movements to a lively semiquaver melody played by the bassoons. The melody is shaped by the interval of a tritone (see brackets marked "T" in Figure 5.9), a sonority that is employed throughout the score, along with seventh and ninth intervals, to create a link between the "displays" of various characters and to unify the work as a whole.

[60] The interval created between the first and fourth notes of this melody is a minor ninth (see figure 5.8 bar 32, "A sharp" to "B"), an interval heard frequently in the score.
[61] Robert Helpmann quoted in Ian Brown, 78.

Figure 5.9 Williamson, *The Display*, first movement, bb. 38-41.



This theme is interspersed with a descending melodic figure based on an Anhemitonic pentatonic scale (see Figures 5.10 and 5.11 for comparison).[62] Played by the flutes and oboes, this melodic idea is also reminiscent of a bird call.

Figure 5.10 The Anhemitonic pentatonic scale on G-flat.

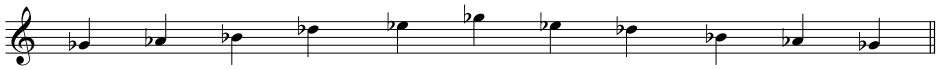
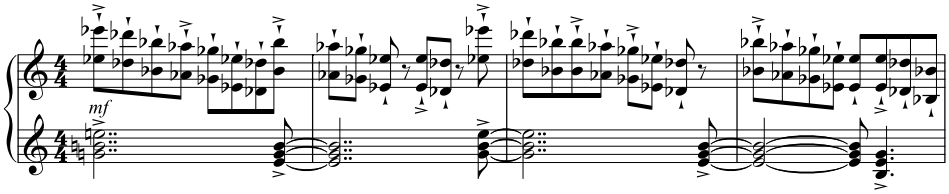


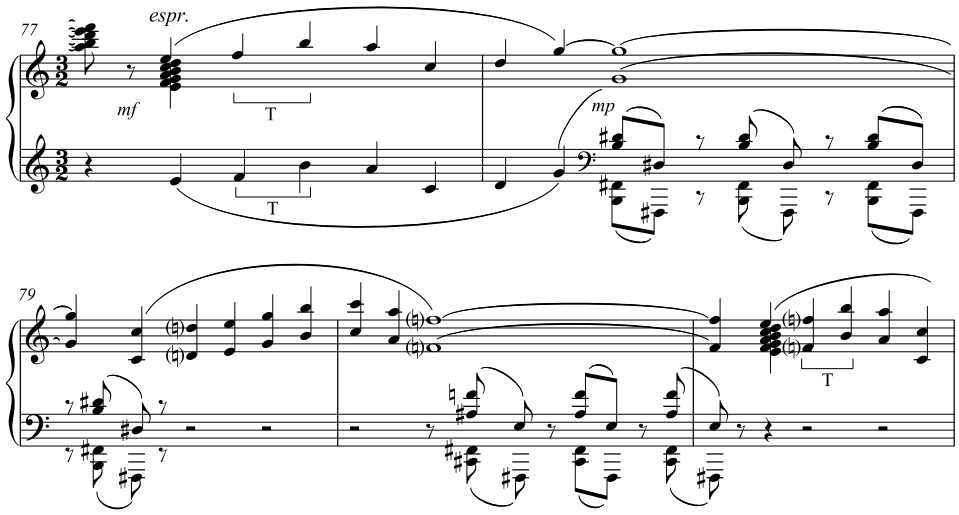
Figure 5.11 Williamson, *The Display*, first movement, bb. 49-52.



The tritone interval also characterises the expressive melody that accompanies The Female's graceful solo "display," which she directs towards the lyrebird in the opening scene. On this occasion, the tritone occurs between the pitches "F" and "B natural" (marked "T" in Figure 5.12).

[62] A scale characterised by five notes or pitch classes consisting of major seconds and a minor third (no semitones), typified by the set C-D-E-G-A (major second, major second, minor third, major second).

Figure 5.12 Williamson, *The Display*, first movement, bb. 77-81.



Like the music heard in this "display," the costume design for The Female is simple and elegant. Nolan dressed The Female in a flowing, virginal-white dress (see Figure 5.13), which visually captured her innocence and femininity and provided a strong contrast to the masculinity of the Australian men, which is the focus of the ballet's central scene.[63]

[63] Michelle Potter, "Spatial Boundaries," 63.

Figure 5.13 The Female dancing her solo "display" in *The Display*.[64]

The parallel between the display of the male lyrebird and the efforts of the average Australian male to attract the attention of the female is drawn in the central scene of the ballet, which is essentially an exhibition of what Helpmann viewed as some of the favourite pastimes of the Australian male, including Australian-Rules football, beer-drinking, gang violence and aggressive sexual behaviour.[65] The Australian setting is apparent from the opening of the picnic scene, as the men drink beer and handball a football around in Australian-Rules style, showing off in front of the women, who congregate downstage and chat over a picnic basket. The segregation of the sexes, as portrayed in this scene, has for many years been considered a characteristic of Australian social gatherings. Recent studies have shown that gender segregation in Australian society

[64] Photo available from the National Library of Australia's website, http://nla.pic-an24535566-v; Internet; accessed 2 September 2006.
[65] Amanda Card, 86.

is often related to alcohol consumption and participation in sporting activities, which are among the leisure pastimes that are considered most important in Australian society and are typically viewed as "male" pursuits.[66] Findings published in the *Journal of Research for Consumers* in 2005 showed that many Australian men considered sporting activities and alcohol consumption to provide opportunities for interaction and bonding between male individuals, while women preferred "telephone conversations and the sharing of a coffee . . . as important means of relating to others and achieving a sense of social connection."[67] The idea of segregating the two gender groups in *The Display* through the mediums of sport and alcohol for the men and chattering or gossiping for the women was used by Helpmann to create a link between the behaviour of these men and women and the clichéd Australian "way of life." According to recently published literature, these ideas are still relevant to twenty-first-century Australian society.[68]

Williamson's score supports the idea of gender segregation in *The Display* by employing two contrasting musical themes that combine varying instrumental forces to represent the different stereotypes. The delicate movements of the young women, who enter the picnic scene and dance as a corps, are supported by a light and lively theme played by the string and wind instruments. This theme features a lightly syncopated rhythm in the treble parts (see Figure 5.14) and is characterised by the interval of a minor seventh (marked "m7" in Figure 5.14).

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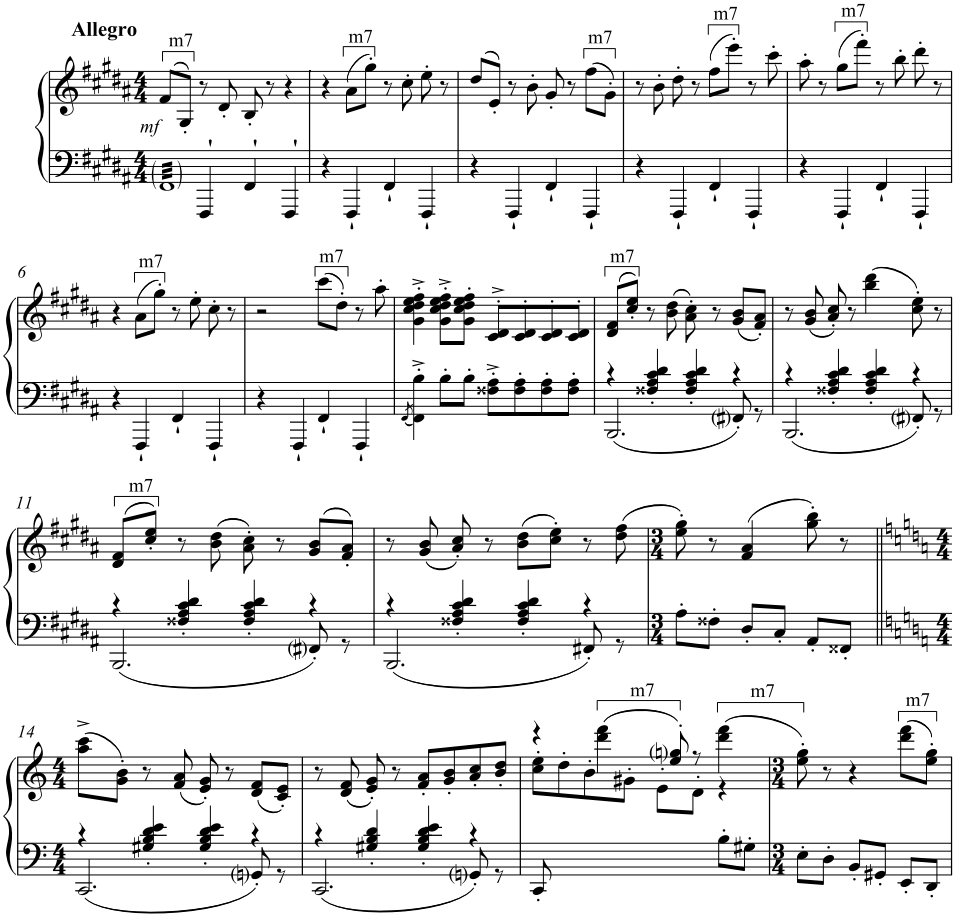
[66] Simone Pettigrew, "Australians and their Leisure Time."

[67] Simone Pettigrew, "Australians and their Leisure Time." The study also demonstrated that the importance of sport in Australian society is related to the warm climate, as is the consumption of alcohol both at sporting events and while enjoying other favourite Australian pastimes, such as the barbecue. The barbecue was viewed by many informants of the study as "masculine" (along with many outdoor activities) and as representing "a food preparation method that both maintains and creates a perception of manhood . . . . It thus provides a 'legitimate' way by which men can perform 'women's work' without loss of self-esteem or credibility."

[68] Simone Pettigrew, "Australians and their Leisure Time."

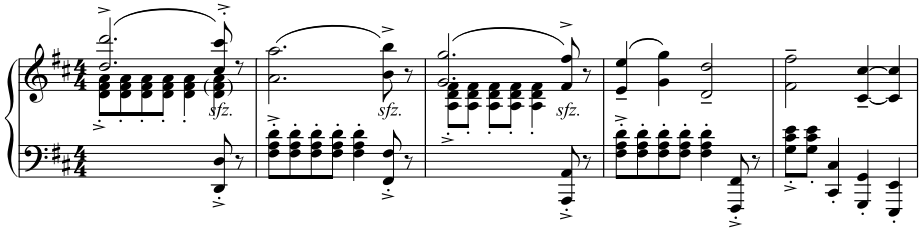
Figure 5.14 Williamson, *The Display*, second movement, bb. 1-17.



In contrast, the music that accompanies the men's dancing is intended to evoke the "collective pride of male Australian youth,"[69] and it does so through the employment of a bold, boisterous theme in the key of D major, played by the brass and percussion instruments (see Figure 5.15). This theme contains strong accents and is more homorhythmic than the passage used to accompany the young women. The musical characterisation evident in this picnic scene is aided significantly by the contrast between the heavy brass and percussion instruments used to represent the males and the lighter-sounding string and wind instruments used to portray the females.

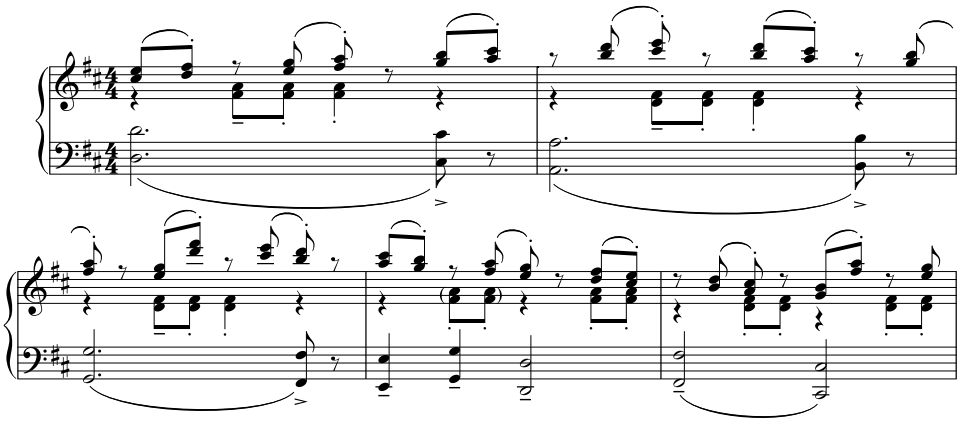
[69] Simon Campion, "The Display Concert Suite."

Figure 5.15 Williamson, *The Display*, second movement, bb. 35-39.



After a complete statement of both of these musical themes, the two are then alternated, gradually becoming shorter on each hearing, as the two gender groups dance before each other and increasingly begin to interact. Eventually the two musical ideas are juxtaposed, with the men's bold theme heard in the bass line and elements of the women's syncopated theme in the treble (see Figure 5.16), as The Female lead character is passed between the men like a trophy.

Figure 5.16 Williamson, *The Display*, second movement, bb. 115-19.



The male and female dancers were also segregated visually in *The Display* through costuming and choreography. Nolan designed costumes that represented the particular stereotypes, dressing the men in singlets or shirts with pants and the women in flowing, pastel-coloured dresses, while Helpmann devised an athletic and modern dancing style for

the men which provided a dramatic contrast to the delicate movements of the women (see Figure 5.17).[70]

Figure 5.17 Visual and choreographic gender segregation in *The Display*.[71]

Helpmann deliberately made a feature of the athleticism and virility of the Australian men in *The Display*. The premise behind this idea was that the overt display of masculinity by the men would draw the attention of the women in the group, just as the Lyrebird had used his display to attract The Female in the opening scene of the ballet. To make the football scenes appear as authentic as possible, the male dancers were coached in handballing and other Australian-Rules football skills by the well-known Australian footballer and coach Ron Barassi.[72] It was also reported at the time that Barassi took some of his footballers to the dance studio in the hope that they would be inspired by the male ballet dancers' expertise in timing and balance, as well as their incredible flexibility and strength.[73] Helpmann also engaged the expertise of well-known boxing promoter Jack Rennie, in

[70] Robert Helpmann quoted in Ian Brown, 121.
[71] Photo available from the National Library of Australia's website, http://nla.pic-an24535584-v; Internet; accessed 2 September 2006.
[72] Michelle Potter, "A Dash of Helpmann."
[73] Robert Helpmann, *Tales of Helpmann*.

order to ensure that the ballet's fight scenes appeared realistic.[74] The publicity surrounding Helpmann's associations with Barassi and Rennie helped to reinforce the idea that the male dancers in *The Display* were athletic and more like stereotypical "macho" Australian "blokes" rather than graceful ballet-dancers.

While the choreography Helpmann devised for *The Display* included classical ballet techniques, particularly typically-masculine manoeuvres such as high jumps and *tours en l'air* (aerial turns), it also employed many movements typical of the jazz idiom made famous in musicals such as *West Side Story* (1957) (see Figure 5.18).[75]

Figure 5.18 Men dance in modern, athletic style in *The Display*, while women observe.[76]

The model of *West Side Story* is particularly appropriate for *The Display*, given that both productions portray gang violence. It seems likely that Helpmann deliberately drew on the

[74] Barry Kitcher, 247.
[75] Amanda Card, 87.
[76] Photo from the National Library of Australia's website, http://www.nla.gov.au; Internet; accessed 2 September 2006.

choreographic styles used by Jerome Robbins in *West Side Story* to create an association between the youthful masculinity and violent gang behaviour depicted in this popular musical and the actions of the Australian males in *The Display*.[77] It is also apparent that Helpmann may have discussed the link to *West Side Story* with Williamson, as the composer himself drew on many similar musical techniques to those used by Leonard Bernstein in his score for *West Side Story*.[78]

In *West Side Story*, Bernstein employed a variety of musical styles to represent the different groups in the storyline, such as Latin rhythms in the songs performed by members of the Puerto Rican gang, the Sharks.[79] Complex rhythmic figures and mixed metres are heard in music that accompanies the violent acts of the gangs in the "Prologue," "Jet Song" and "Cool," while lyrical ballads support scenes involving the lovers Tony and Maria, such as "Maria," "Tonight" and "Somewhere."[80] A preference for two intervals, the tritone and minor seventh, unifies the score of *West Side Story* and creates a sense of tension and unrest. The tritone is the first interval heard in the melodic lines of "Maria" and "Cool" and is also present in "Something's Coming," "Dance at the Gym" and "Maria Cha Cha." The frequent use of this interval is especially significant in the representation of the two opposing gangs in *West Side Story*. In equal temperament, the tritone interval divides the octave into two equal parts and as a result, is the most tonally ambiguous interval.[81] Sounding neither major nor minor in quality, the tritone is effective in expressing the

[77] Helpmann almost certainly would have been exposed to the music and choreography of *West Side Story*, given that it opened in London at Her Majesty's Theatre in December 1958 and ran until 1961 with a total of 1,039 performances. The production was directed and choreographed by Robbins and co-choreographed by Peter Gennaro, with scenery by Oliver Smith. It contained much more dancing than any previous Broadway or West End show and the number of orchestral instruments required to play the original score is among the largest in the repertoire. *West Side Story* was staged in Australia during the early 1960s, so Australian audiences would also have been familiar with the music and choreography.
[78] As mentioned in Chapter 3, Williamson came into contact with the music of Bernstein when he worked as a pianist in London nightclubs during the late 1950s.
[79] Bruce D. McClung and Paul R. Laird, "Musical Sophistication on Broadway: Kurt Weill and Leonard Bernstein," *The Cambridge Companion to the Musical* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 177.
[80] Bruce D. McClung and Paul R. Laird, 177.
[81] The tritone interval is so-named because it is equal to the sum of three whole-tones. Since medieval times, the interval has carried a firm association with ominous or evil concepts. William Drabkin, "Tritone," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 2001).

"essential conflict in the story by simultaneously representing the harmony of the lovers and the discord of the street gangs."[82] While the minor seventh is not heard as frequently, nor is it as significant to the dramatic theme of *West Side Story* as the tritone, its prevalence in the ballad "Somewhere" helps to provide the score with moments of unity.[83]

Like Bernstein, Williamson composed evocative musical themes to represent specific characters in *The Display* (musical characterisation), and employed dissonant intervals, such as the tritone, seventh and ninth, to underscore the violence and hostility that can result from the overt display of male power, especially in a gang environment. These intervals are also heard in the slower, more expressive melodies which accompany the romantic scenes in *The Display*, such as the "Pas de deux," to foreshadow the devastating events that are to follow. The frequent appearance of these intervals with solo dance routines in *The Display* helps to establish a link between the various "displays" of different characters. Furthermore, the recurrence of these intervals reinforces the parallel between the original display of the lyrebird in the opening scene and the human display danced by the Australian males in the central picnic scene.

The first character to dance a solo display in the ballet's picnic scene is The Leader, who is clearly the most popular male in the group. The music composed for The Leader's display consists of a bold violin melody which matches in mood his air of confidence. The melody opens in E-flat major and features stressed notes at the intervals of a major seventh and a major ninth above the tonic (marked "M7" and "M9" respectively in Figure 5.19), before closing with accented, bitonal chords in the conflicting diatonic keys of F-flat major and G minor (see Figure 5.19).

[82] Jamie Bernstein quoted in Randolph Magri-Overend, "Bernstein: West Side Story," *Limelight* (November 2007), 59.
[83] Bruce D. McClung and Paul R. Laird, 177.

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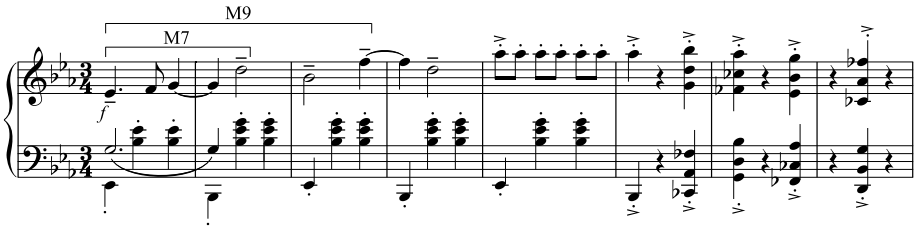


This theme is then inverted and followed by a passage reminiscent of bird calls, to create an association between the Leader's dance and the Lyrebird's display in the opening scene. Both displays have the same underlying purpose – to attract the attention of the female – and Williamson musically connected the two scenes and characters through the bird calls in order to reinforce the ballet's underlying dramatic theme.

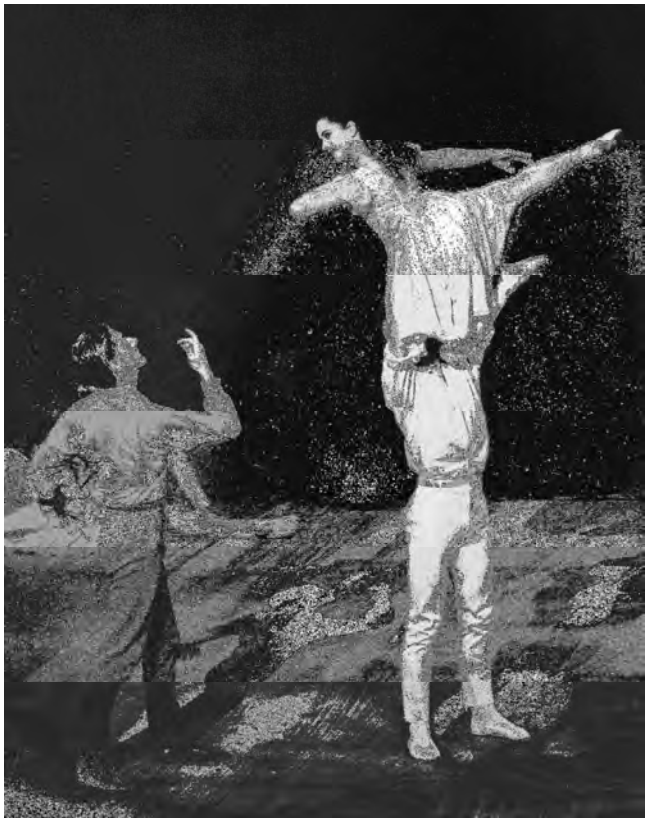
The same bird calls are heard when The Outsider enters the picnic scene. From the outset, he appears different to the rest of The Group because of the dark outfit that Nolan designed for him (see Figure 5.21). He watches The Female dance with The Leader, to whom she is romantically linked (see Figure 5.20).

Figure 5.20 The Female dances with The Leader in *The Display*.[84]

However, as The Female dances with The Leader, she increasingly directs her body language towards the admiring "Outsider." In effect, she uses the dance as a form of "display" to attract the attention of The Outsider (see figure 5. 21).

[84] Photo available from the National Library of Australia's website, http://nla.pic-an24526801-v; Internet; accessed 2 September 2006.

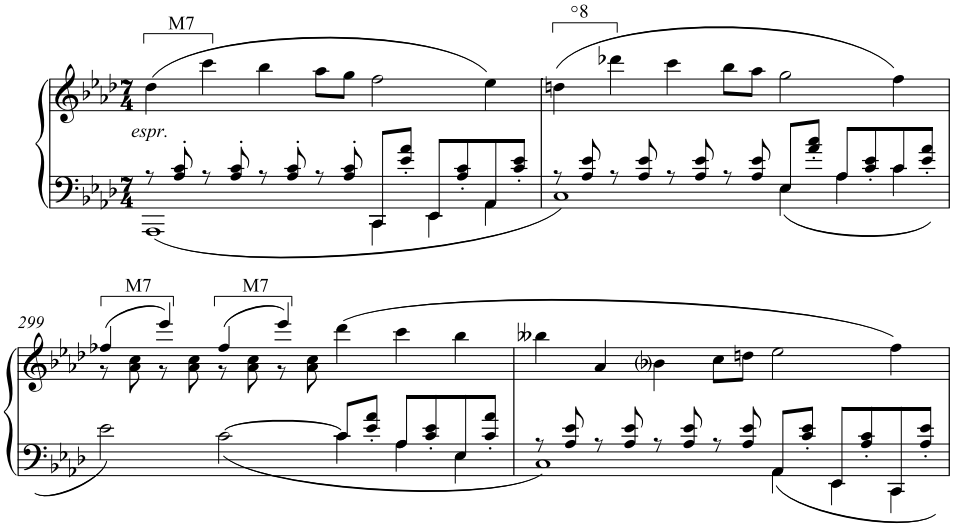
Figure 5.21 The Female dances with The Leader and focuses her attention on The Outsider in *The Display*.[85]



The music composed for this dance is based on a melodic motive that was first heard at the beginning of the second movement (see Figure 5.14, bar 9) when the group of women entered the picnic space and danced before the group of men. Its reappearance here helps to create an association between the two female displays. On this hearing, the melody is played by a solo oboe and is rhythmically slower and more expressive than the original. The melody is dominated by the interval of a major seventh, which is heard at the opening of the passage and reiterated at different pitches in subsequent bars (marked "M7" in Figure 5.22).[86]

[85] Photo from the National Library of Australia's website, http://www.nla.gov.au; Internet; accessed 2 September 2006.
[86] At the beginning of bar 298, the major seventh is spelt enharmonically as a diminished octave (D-natural to D-flat).

Figure 5.22 Williamson, *The Display*, second movement, bb. 297-300.



Following this dance, the women in the group watch the men play a rowdy game of Australian-Rules football. To support the lively action of the football game, Williamson employed a fragmented and accented dotted-rhythm melody. Like other "display" themes in the ballet, this melody is dominated by the interval of a tritone (marked "T" in Figure 5.23).[87]

The tritone is also employed in the theme that accompanies The Outsider's display for The Female, which takes place after the football game (see Figure 5.24). The Outsider's display is more effeminate than that of The Leader or the other males in the group, and like the women's group theme heard at the beginning of the second movement (see Figure 5.14), the melody that accompanies The Outsider's dance is underscored by a syncopated rhythm (see Figure 5.24).

[87] The four-bar introduction to this theme is played by the trumpets (bars 325-28), while the melody that follows is played by the oboes and violins (bars 329-33).

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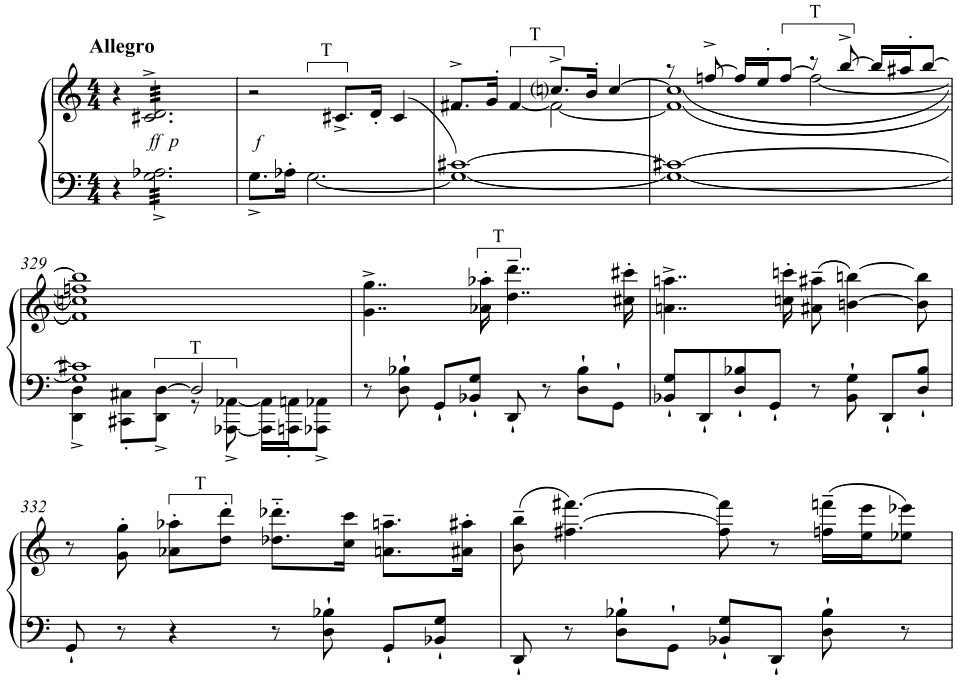
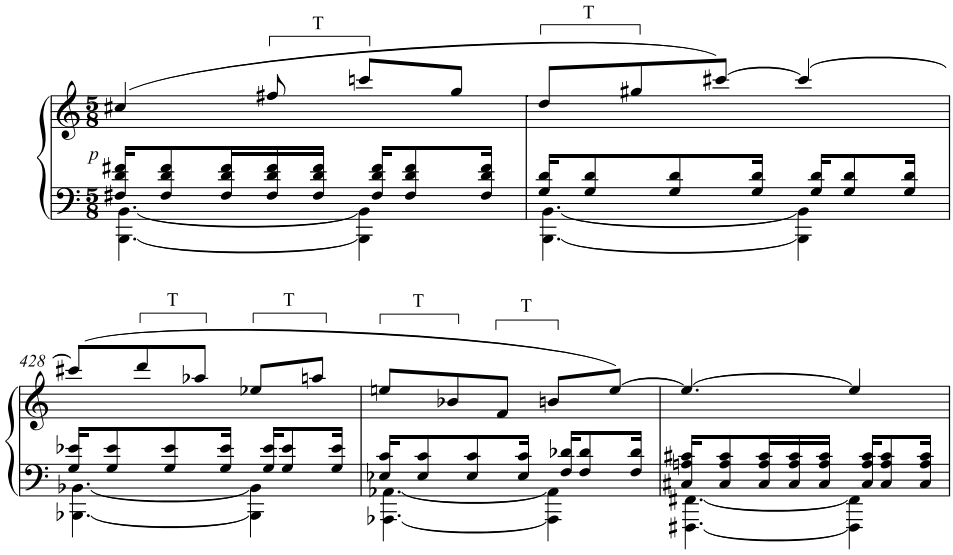


Figure 5.24 Williamson, *The Display*, second movement, bb. 426-30.



Once alone with The Outsider, The Female dances a solo display for him to the same music that accompanied her opening solo display for the Lyrebird, reinforcing the connection between human and animal behaviour.

At the beginning of the third movement, The Female and The Outsider dance what has become recognised as one of Helpmann's most admired *pas de deux* (see figure 5.25).[88]

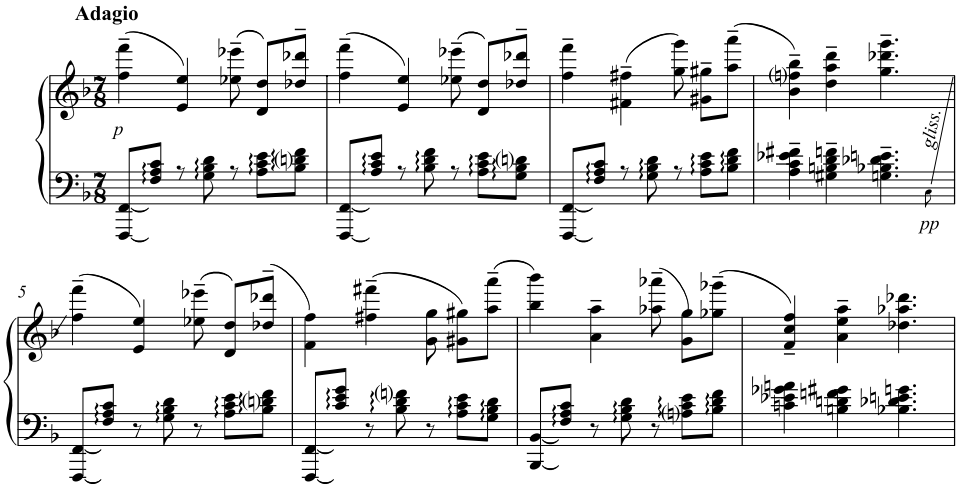
Figure 5.25 The Female and The Outsider dance in *The Display*'s "Pas de deux."[89]

The *pas de deux* is typically an opportunity for the composer and choreographer to express the feelings of ecstasy experienced when two lovers are brought together.[90] While Williamson's "Pas de deux" effectively translates the blissful emotional states of The Female and The Outsider, it simultaneously creates a sense of unease through the employment of an angular, dissonant melody, characterised by recurring falling ninth intervals, from the high registers of the violins (see Figure 5.26). Both the music and the

[88] Simon Campion, "The Display Concert Suite."
[89] Photo available from the National Library of Australia's website, http://nla.pic-an24526785-v; Internet; accessed 2 September 2007.
[90] Joel Crotty, "Choreographic Music in Australia, 1913-1964," 271.

dancing are bittersweet and sensitively convey the increasing tension in the ballet's plot, just like Bernstein's ballads for Tony and Maria in *West Side Story*.

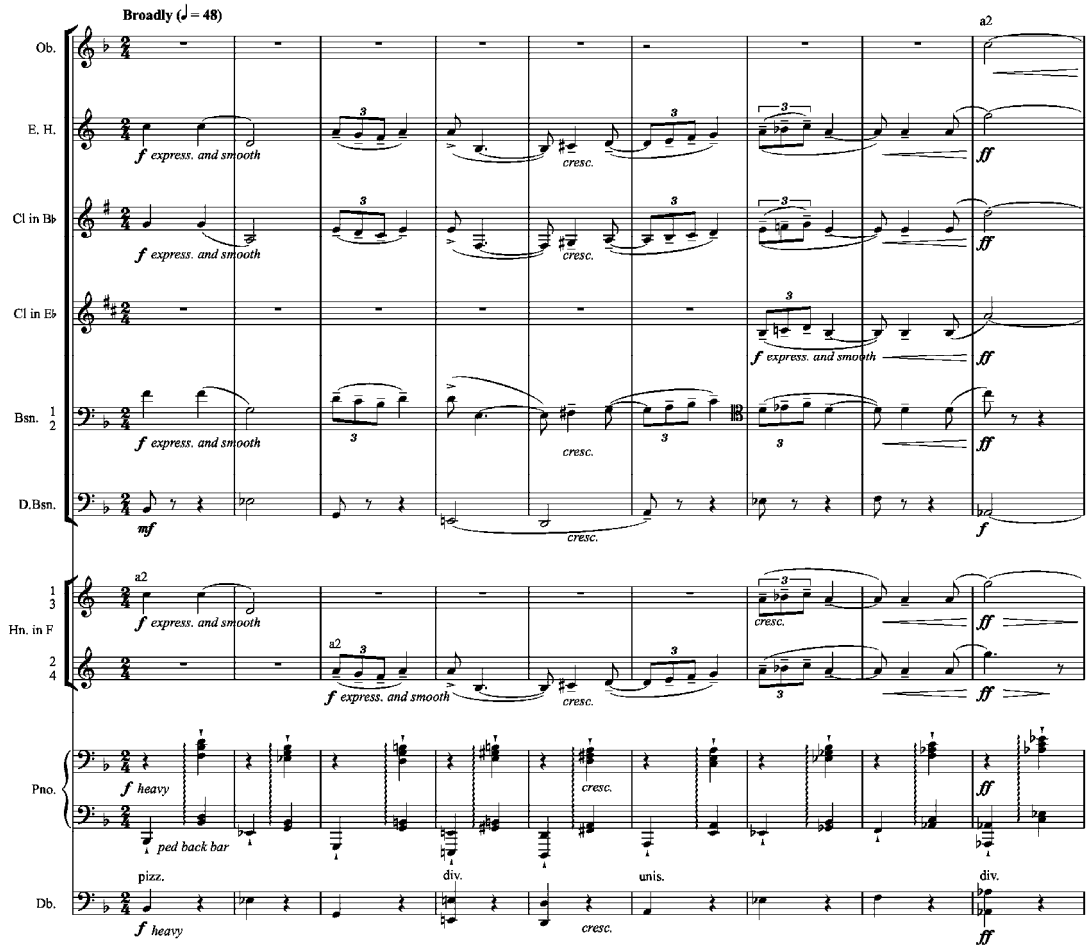
Figure 5.26 Williamson, *The Display*, "Pas de deux," third movement, bb. 1-8.[91]



This musical passage also bears a striking resemblance to the *pas de deux* in the final act of Benjamin Britten's three-act ballet *The Prince of the Pagodas* Op. 57, which premiered at Covent Garden in 1957 (see Figure 5.27).

[91] The glissandi marked in the score are orchestrated for the harp.

Figure 5.27 Britten's "Pas de Deux" from *The Prince of the Pagodas*, bb. 1-9.[92]

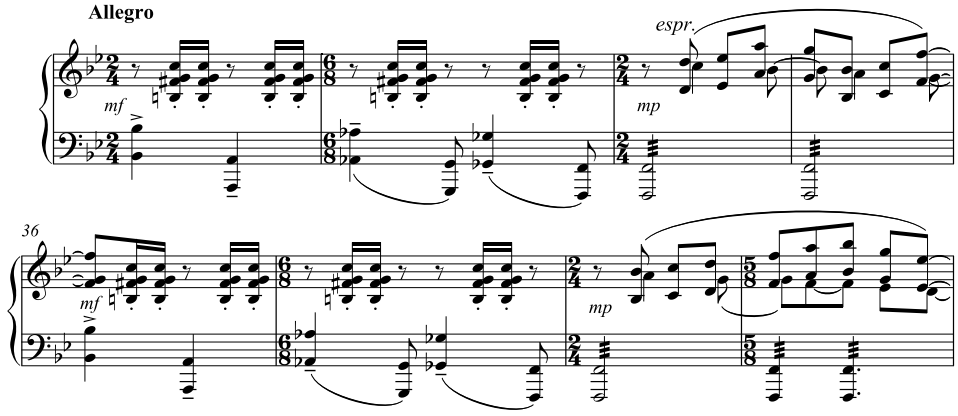


Williamson would have been very familiar with his mentor's ballet score to *The Prince of the Pagodas*, which was composed only a few years prior to *The Display*. The parallels between the two dances can be seen in the employment of a similar melodic shape, dominated by a falling figure (Britten uses a seventh, while Williamson uses a ninth), a similar rhythmic effect and the inclusion of "rolled" accompanying chords. As stated in previous chapters, the influence of European composers upon Williamson's compositional style and language, as evident here, is directly related to his experiences abroad and in particular, his personal encounters with significant composers such as Britten, as well as his exposure to a wider variety of music than he would have been likely to hear in Australia.

[92] Benjamin Britten, *The Prince of the Pagodas Op. 57: A Ballet in Three Acts* (London: Boosey & Hawkes), 338.

The passion evident between The Female and The Outsider in the "Pas de deux" enrages The Leader, who combines forces with the other males in the group to challenge the Outsider in a series of rival dance and combat moves similar to those used in *West Side Story*.[93] As the males of the group physically tackle The Outsider, "music and dance reach a pitch of merciless violence."[94] Falling ninth figures in the bass parts are interrupted by melodic fragments derived from The Female's original solo "display" theme heard in the first movement (see opening bars of Figure 5.12 and bars 34-35 and 38-39 of Figure 5.28).

Figure 5.28 Williamson, *The Display*, third movement, bb. 32-39.



The reference to The Female's theme is particularly appropriate in this scene because it points to The Female as the trigger for the fight between the Leader and The Outsider. The regular changes of rhythmic metre evident in this fight scene add to the atmosphere of unrest and create another parallel to the score of *West Side Story*, which employed the same technique to capture the atmosphere of gang violence.

[93] "Synopsis: The Display."
[94] Simon Campion, "The Display Concert Suite."

The Leader delivers several final blows to The Outsider to music reminiscent of a horror-film soundtrack, characterised by high-pitched, accented and dissonant melodic fragments played by the strings (see Figures 5.29 and 5.30).[95]

Figure 5.29 Williamson, *The Display*, third movement, bb. 163-68.

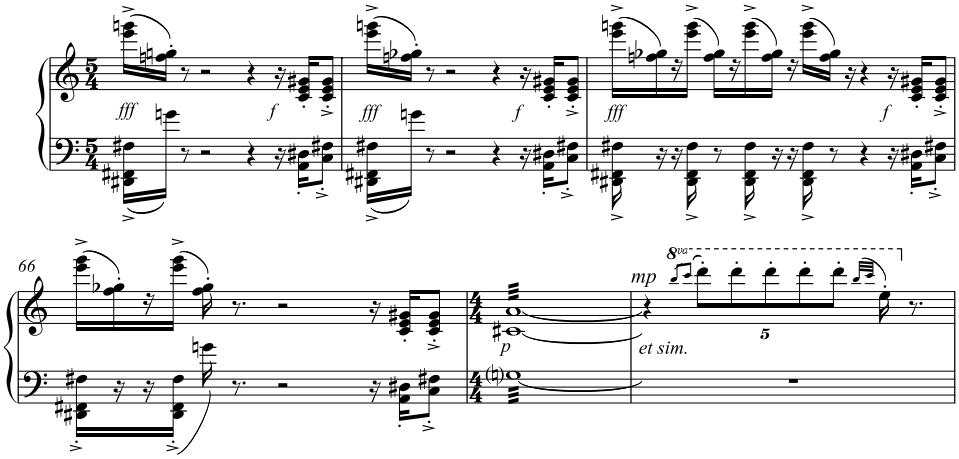


Figure 5.30 The Outsider at the conclusion of the fight scene in *The Display*.[96]

[95] Several years prior, Williamson had composed the score to the horror-film *The Brides of Dracula* (1960). Williamson later composed a number of other scores for horror films, including *The Horror of Frankenstein* (1969) and *The Masks of Death* (1984).

[96] Photo available from the National Library of Australia's website, http://nla.pic-an24527028-v; Internet; accessed 2 September 2006.

The "horror-film" music that accompanies this scene is interspersed with bird calls from the opening movement (see bar 168 of Figure 5.29). The inclusion of bird calls in the fight scene creates a link to the opening Lyrebird scene; reminding the audience that this violence has resulted from a display of male power and virility.

The connection between the opening Lyrebird scene and the central picnic scene is drawn most clearly in the final movement of the ballet, in which The Male (the lyrebird) restores the natural order by mating with The Female. The scene opens with The Female wandering alone in the forest, listening to the calls of the lyrebird. The Male makes a brief appearance, accompanied musically by his original dance theme from the first movement. The Outsider suddenly appears and a struggle ensues between him and The Female. As he pulls her from side to side and physically assaults her, motives from the Lyrebird's dance theme (marked "a" and "b" in Figure 5.31) can be heard interspersed with melodic fragments from The Female's solo dance theme (marked "c" in Figure 5.31), establishing a firm link with the opening Lyrebird scene and the mating behaviour of the bird.[97] Once again, the predominance of the tritone interval in this passage supports the action on stage by evoking an atmosphere of tension and unrest (see Figure 5.31).

[97] Motive "a" is derived from the Lyrebird's tritone-shaped dance theme seen earlier in Figure 5.9. The descending pentatonic figure marked "b" bears a strong resemblance to the bird call-like theme in Figure 5.11. Motive "c" is drawn from The Female's solo dance theme, as seen previously in Figure 5.12.

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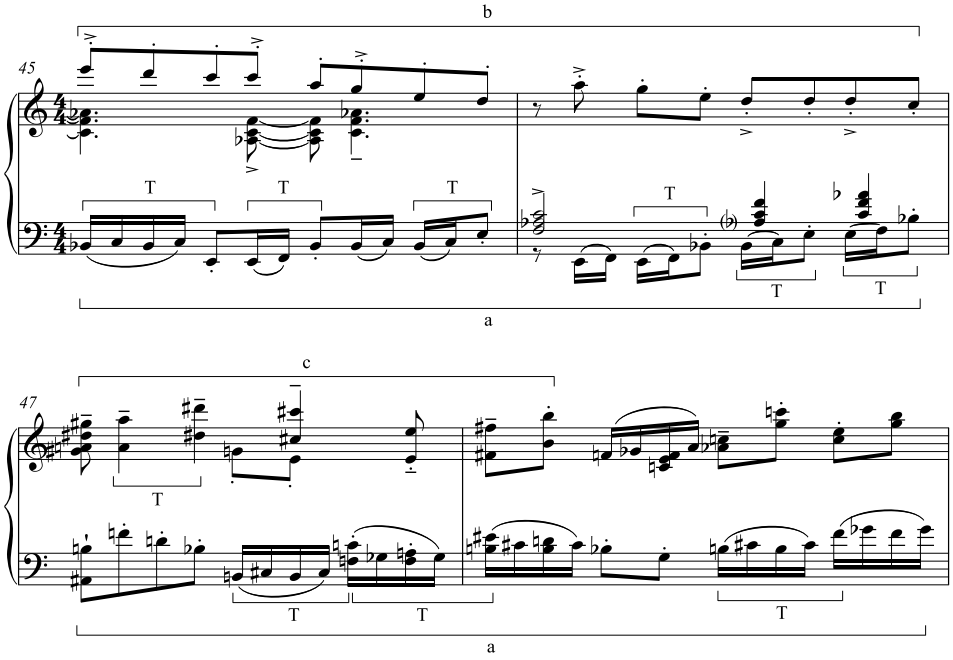

After The Outsider abandons The Female in the forest, The Male lyrebird reappears. The music builds to a climax as The Male displays his enormous lyre-shaped tail to the female. As this is the natural order, without violence, she willingly succumbs to The Male's display (see Figures 5.32 and 5.33) and the ballet closes with a passage of abrupt, pounding chords from the piano, strings and percussion, which on first hearing reportedly caused Helpmann to raise his eyebrows and declare "well, there's no question about what that music represents . . . ."[98]

[98] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal conversation, 15 December 2007. Williamson later used a similar musical expression in a sex scene in the ballet *Sun into Darkness* (1966), which caused one critic to respond: "At the end of the second act, after an earthy *pas de deux* with every sultry cliché in the dancing repertoire, the stranger drags the Wife behind a symbolic throne, while the orchestra in a series of staccato throbs provides the exact musical equivalent for the significant row of asterisks in a cheap novelette." Nicholas Dromgoole, *Evening Standard*, 5 July 1966.

Figure 5.32 The Female submits to The Male in *The Display*.[99]

Figure 5.33 The final scene of *The Display*.[100]

[99] Photo from the National Library of Australia's website, http://www.nla.gov.au; Internet; accessed 2 September 2006.
[100] Photo available from the National Library of Australia's website, http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an24826563; Internet; accessed 15 October 2007.

Ultimately, it is The Outsider and The Male who are successful in attracting the attention of The Female. Through overt displays of masculinity and jealousy, the popular Leader and the other males of the group have segregated The Outsider and driven The Female into his arms. The violent acts that follow illustrate the potential repercussions of such behaviour. This human scenario is framed by the opening and closing scenes of the ballet, which demonstrate the natural order of male display and female submission in the Australian wild.

While *The Display* was symbolic of Australia and Australian society on the surface level, for its three collaborators, Helpmann, Nolan and Williamson, the ballet's themes carried a subtext. Several features of the ballet, particularly the roles of The Outsider and The Male, can be viewed as symbolic of the collaborators' experiences as Australian expatriates. The Outsider, as signified by his title, was segregated from the rest of the males in the group because he did not conform to their typically Australian, masculine, ideal. In fact, some scholars, such as Joel Crotty and Rachel Hocking, have suggested that the character of The Outsider was, indeed, intended to represent a migrant;[101] however, they do not extend the comparison any further to suggest that this character (although not necessarily his actions) may have been inspired by the collaborators' own expatriate experiences. At times, Helpmann, Williamson and Nolan each felt segregated from the masses. In Britain, they were outsiders because they were Australians and in Australia they were considered outsiders because they were expatriates. Therefore, they each experienced the sense of statelessness that was typical among expatriates, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Helpmann, Nolan and Williamson all compensated for feelings of isolation by maintaining their private and professional associations with Australia and by publicly stating their

[101] Rachel Hocking, "Crafting Connections: Original Music for the Dance in Australia, 1960-2000," Ph.D. dissertation, School of Music and Music Education, University of New South Wales, 2006, 128; Joel Crotty, "Choreographic Music in Australia, 1913-1964," 211.

allegiance and loyalty to Australia and its creative arts scene. In his address to the audience at the premiere of *The Display*, Helpmann spoke of his pride in his home-town, his country and his fellow Australian collaborators, and simultaneously re-confirmed his Australian identity:

> It is every local boy's dream to come home and to do something that no one has seen before in his home town. I am not saying this in any sense of modesty because I am not a particularly modest person . . . . As you know I have always been proud of being, and am lucky to have been born an Australian. I am also lucky that my home town has produced a festival such as this where it has been possible to do the first performance of this work. I am proud and lucky in my two brilliant collaborators, also Australians, Malcolm Williamson for the score and Sidney Nolan for the décor.[102]

However, Williamson believed that through *The Display* Helpmann distanced himself even further from Australian society, stating "[Helpmann] satirises society and writes himself as an exceptional eccentric – reject from the Australian norm."[103]

Williamson also made several personal statements shortly after the premiere of *The Display* that reconfirmed his own Australian identity. Simultaneously, he spoke of his disappointment over the fact that *The Display* was designed and written in London for its Australian dancers and Australian audience, because its collaborators were unable to survive as creative artists in their home country. Williamson may have also issued these statements to defend himself from the ridicule of the Australian press for not returning to Australia for the world premiere of the ballet:

> It is extraordinary, and of course historically unfortunate, that the first really ambitious Australian ballet to be written entirely by Australians for Australians to dance should have been written in Great Britain, that all three Australians

[102] Robert Helpmann quoted in *Advertiser*, March 1964, available from Josef Weinberger archive, London; accessed June 2006. Helpmann and Nolan were presented with baby gum trees following the conclusion of the first performance.
[103] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Robert Helmann, *Tales of Helpmann*.

> concerned with it were living abroad in order to survive . . . . I remember very well the day [of the premiere in Adelaide] – I was not there, I was in London – and I sat at my piano at the identical moment . . . and amused myself playing the score . . . and then felt very nostalgic indeed towards Australia.[104]
>
> The ballet must be as Australian a ballet as exists, but it was entirely written in the London winter. It was designed in the London winter . . . then it was shipped down to Australia and rehearsed in Adelaide by Australian dancers . . . . [The score for *The Display*] seems to me quintessentially Australian, but it had to be written from my studio in London where I was dreaming of Australia and wishing I was there.[105]

There are several parallels that can be drawn between the experiences of the collaborators and the two "winners" in the ballet, The Male and The Outsider. Firstly, each of the three expatriates involved in this project had gradually attempted to adapt their lifestyle, creative work, views and even spoken accent to "fit" within their new environment in London and to gain acceptance in society. This behaviour is not unlike that of the lyrebird, which is known for its ability to mimic the sounds of other birds and animals to suit its environment, to defend its territory and to lure a mate. Secondly, it is also interesting to note that although The Outsider attempts to socialise with the other picnickers initially, he is later segregated from the group, partly because he has not conformed completely. As stated previously, this was similar to the experiences shared by Helpmann, Nolan and Williamson, among other figures, who were viewed as outsiders in Australian and British society because they were unwilling, and perhaps even unable, to conform to the expectations of the public and press.

Understandably, considerable controversy was aroused by the overtly sexual nature of *The Display*'s scenario and the media response that followed the premiere gave expression to

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[104] Malcolm Williamson, "Conversation with Malcolm Williamson." Williamson was unable to travel to Australia to attend the premiere of *The Display* due to commitments with his chamber opera *English Eccentrics* (1963-4).
[105] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Andrew Ford, "Dots on the Landscape: Comings and Goings," ABC Classic FM recording; available from http://www.abc.net.au/classic/dots/; accessed 6 June 2007.

the community's polarised views.[106] Australian newspaper headlines varied from "A Major Break-Through in Australian Creativity"[107] to "New Ballet is a Shocker."[108] Helpmann justified the ballet's controversial themes by publicly stating that the work provided "a comment on the national characteristics of a young country."[109] He agreed it was "a violent ballet in many ways," but stated, "I felt that the terrain and bush country of [Australia] is a violent thing . . . . I have tried as much as I can to keep the whole atmosphere of it absolutely and completely Australian . . . ."[110] Although some local critics viewed its iconic imagery as out of step with modern Australia, due to "heavy handed" social criticism and "clichés both in its scenario and its choreography,"[111] most reviewers agreed that the ballet provided a realistic representation of Australia and Australian society, labelling it a "wholly Australian ballet"[112] and stating that "with the premiere of *The Display*, Helpmann offered Australians a glimpse of themselves."[113]

Overall, *The Display* was an important early success for the Australian Ballet, as it demonstrated to local and international audiences alike that the company was capable of producing a national ballet. It became a staple of the company's repertoire and was toured extensively, both locally and internationally. The Australian Ballet took *The Display* to Britain in 1965, following a request from the government to represent Australia at the

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[106] Joel Crotty, "Choreographic Music in Australia, 1913-1964," 125.
[107] Sally Trethowan, "Ballet Breaks New Ground," *West Australian*, 28 May 1964, 15.
[108] "New Ballet is a Shocker," *Herald Sun*, no date given, available from Josef Weinberger archive, London; accessed June 2006.
[109] Robert Helpmann, "Conversation with Robert Helpmann."
[110] Robert Helpmann, "Conversation with Robert Helpmann."
[111] Geoffrey Hutton, "Helpmann Wins Great Welcome: Ballet's 1964 Trump Card," *The Age*, March 1964, 5. Other expatriate creative artists, such as Barry Humphries, were also accused of using clichéd Australian imagery. Such criticism was one manifestation of the "cringe inverted," as discussed previously.
[112] Roland Robinson, "Premiere of Ballet by Helpmann," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 March 1964, 6. At the premiere, the ballet received "twenty curtain calls from the wildly enthusiastic audience and immediate acclaim from Adelaide and visiting critics." "Ballet Triumph New Boost for Festival," *Advertiser*, Adelaide, 16 March 1964, 1. Following the premiere, it was hailed "a theatrical triumph of Australian creativity." Harold Tidemann, "The Display Is A Triumph," *The Advertiser*, 16 March 1964.
[113] Amanda Card, 84. Some audience members completely misinterpreted the final scene of the ballet. For example, the wife of one of the official guests at the premiere commented after the performance that it was lovely to see the lyrebird return in the final scene to save The Female from the bush-fire. Barry Kitcher, 249.

Commonwealth Festival of the Arts.[114] In 1967, *The Display* was presented in Baalback, Liverpool, Paris and Berlin as part of the Australian Ballet's first major overseas tour and the following year, it was performed in Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok, Manila, Hong Kong, Taipei, Seoul, Tokyo, Phnom Penh and Djakarta.[115] In late 1968 and early 1969, it was taken on a tour of regional Australia.[116] In fact, in the twenty-year period following its premiere, *The Display* was given over 320 performances, which is indicative of its value to the Australian Ballet company and its audiences.[117]

Generally, the reviews of international performances of *The Display* were overwhelmingly positive, praising the work for being "strikingly original"[118] and claiming "Ballet from Down Under is way up there."[119] In Tokyo, the Australian Ballet received "thunderous applause," with *The Display* drawing "almost unprecedented shouts for an encore . . . from the notoriously difficult Japanese audience."[120] For many overseas spectators, *The Display* provided a comment on Australia's cultural and social climate, with critics identifying the action of the ballet as portraying typical "Australian social games" and the lyrebird as symbolic of the "Australian male, inclined to mate rather passionately, but then to leave abruptly."[121] In America, *The Display*'s themes did not seem to be interpreted as overtly Australian. Following the ballet's New York debut in February 1971, a reviewer described

[114] John Cargher, *Opera and Ballet in Australia* (Melbourne: Cassell, 1977), 263.
[115] "Southern Lights: Great Australian Choreographers," http://www.australianballet.com.au/uploads/southernlights.pdf; Internet; accessed 2 November 2007.
[116] *The Display* was revived by the Australian Ballet in 1983 and featured new costumes by fashion designer Adele Weiss. "The Display," *Australia Dancing*, http://www.australiadancing.org/apps/ad?action=ViewSubject&id=401&resourceType=Picture; Internet; accessed 2 November 2007.
[117] Rachel Hocking, 154. Hocking has also observed that *The Display* is not an appropriate work for contemporary repertoire because it is not in line with the current trend towards non-narrative works and therefore, a performance of this work given today would only be of interest for historical reasons.
[118] Leonor Orosa Goquingco, "Wings and the Australian Ballet," *Manila Bulletin*, 12 March 1968.
[119] Exequiel S. Molina, "Australian Ballet: Dynamic Artists," *Manila Times*, 12 March 1968.
[120] "Banzai for Ballet," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 April 1968.
[121] Donna Graham, "Australian Ballet: Dance of Lyrebird gave Inspiration for 'Display,'" *The Mainichi Daily News*, no date given, available from Josef Weinberger archive, London; accessed 26 June 2006.

the work as "a kind of bird-gets-girl ballet" and recognised in the "gang" an "untypical lack of Australian sportsmanship."[122]

British reviews of *The Display* were also mixed. Perhaps the most interesting reception of the ballet occurred in Glasgow, where its overtly sexual scenes were frowned upon to the point where the Glasgow Presbyterian Church seriously considered banning all performances of the work.[123] One British critic commented that as a "reflection of Australian *mores* [the scenario of *The Display*] is distinctly unflattering."[124] Another British reviewer found the ballet's themes "shocking," especially in light of the fact that Helpmann had been trained in Britain, reporting:

> Although the lyrebird is the central figure in Helpmann's work it is sex that rears its rather ugly head in no uncertain fashion . . . . Why, one wonders, should Helpmann have dragged in sex by the short hairs for any other reason than to shock . . . . Well, it may do down there; up here the only shocking thing was the remarkably trite approach to choreography . . . . It is surprising . . . that his first creations for the ballet company of his native country have little of the particular quality that has stood him in good stead in the past . . . of all the various creators seen during the Commonwealth Festival, Helpmann was the one who has served his apprenticeship in Britain and one who should have been able to impose a sense of European culture on to that of his native country.[125]

While this last comment was in many ways an insult to the Australian creative arts scene and its audiences, Williamson believed that it was exactly this disregard for European "taste" that made Australian artistic endeavours unique. He certainly identified this quality in his own work and personality:

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[122] Clive Barnes, "Bird-Gets-Girl Ballet," *The Times*, 3 February 1971, available from Josef Weinberger archive, London; accessed June 2006.
[123] Michelle Potter, "A Dash of Helpmann." The publicity surrounding this reaction may have actually aided box office sales.
[124] *Financial Times*, 2 October 1965, available from Josef Weinberger archive, London; accessed June 2006.
[125] "Adventure: Three Views of The Australian Ballet's First London Season at Covent Garden of the Commonwealth Festival," *Dance & Dancers* (December 1965): 13.

> Australia has had a great influence on the character of my music; an extravert character, an element of disregarding tradition and the time-honoured tenets of taste. I am quite incapable of imposing European tastefulness on my character or personality.[126]

In fact, one British critic described Williamson's score for *The Display* as "incredibly brash."[127] This statement probably would have amused Williamson, who had previously identified the quality of "brashness" as peculiar to the Australian character and had openly commented on a number of occasions about its impact upon his compositional style, as stated in previous chapters.

Generally, *The Display*'s balletic impressions of a picnic in the bush with beer drinking, football and fighting communicated instantly to foreign audiences familiar with Australian life. The dramatic theme, based on the lyrebird, was uniquely Australian, but also universal and not too "remotely Australian" to be understood by foreign audiences.[128] Despite the ballet's violent themes, there was world-wide praise for the sets, the choreography, the dancing and particularly the music.

Williamson's score was acclaimed for being "melodic and eminently danceable,"[129] marked by fluency and a strong theatrical character. *Sydney Morning Herald* music critic Roger Covell summed up the general consensus following the premiere of *The Display*:

> [Williamson's score] has the distinction of intrinsic qualities of technical resource combined with theatrical fluency and sense of gesture to a degree probably

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[126] Michael Oliver, "Here and There," no source or date given, 1012, available from Josef Weinberger archive, London; accessed 26 June 2006.
[127] R. Buckle, *Sunday Times*, no date given, available from Josef Weinberger archive, London; accessed June 2006.
[128] Robert Helpmann quoted in Ian Brown, 120.
[129] Roland Robinson, "Premiere of Ballet by Helpmann," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 March 1964. Williamson later stated that the training he received in Australia had given him the skills to send his score for *The Display* from London to Australia without ever having heard it. He also declared that when he did hear the score for the first time, two years later, "not a note needed changing." Jill Sykes, "Music Ambassador," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 August 1973.

> unprecedented in any music specially commissioned for ballet use in this country. It is a highly melodic, rhythmically supple score, eclectic in its derivation, difficult to play well but always in deft alliance with the mood of the stage action and never in the slightest respect perplexing for its listeners. [Williamson is] at the beginning of what promises to be a highly successful career of writing for the theatre.[130]

Part of what made Williamson's score so accessible to the audience was his use of recurring musical material to represent particular characters, emotions and stereotypes in the ballet. His use of different musical themes and instrumental combinations for specific characters aurally supported Helpmann's scenario and was particularly effective in conveying the relationships between various characters, such as the segregation of the sexes at the opening of the second movement's picnic scene. The recurrence of these musical motives also created a sense of unity in the work, especially the calls of the lyrebird, which helped to establish a link between the behaviour of the lyrebird in the opening and closing scenes, and that of the human males in the central picnic scene. The use of these highly evocative bird calls also supported the Australian setting of the work and led one British critic to describe the resulting aural effect as "vividly colourful aboriginal music."[131] In addition to supporting Helpmann's dramatic themes, Williamson's score for *The Display* provided the perfect backdrop for the ballet's modern choreography, especially in the fight scenes, and aided in the integration of all aspects of the production into a realistic dramatic whole.

The success of *The Display* opened many doors for its three collaborators. The praise Williamson received for his score for *The Display* encouraged him to arrange a shortened, twenty-five minute *Concert Suite* (1964) that could be performed independently of the

[130] Roger Covell, "Highly Melodic," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 March 1964.
[131] *Liverpool Echo*, 24 September 1965, available from Josef Weinberger archive, London; accessed June 2006.

ballet.[132] He went on to compose scores for several other ballets, including *Sun into Darkness* (1966), *Sinfonietta* (1965), *Spectrum* (1967), *BigfellaTootsSquoodgeandNora* (1967), *Heritage* (1985) and *Have Steps Will Travel* (1988), as well as an uncompleted project with Helpmann, *Perisynthion* (1973-74).[133] Helpmann choreographed a number of other ballets for the Australian company, including *Elektra* (1966), with designs by Arthur Boyd, and *Sun Music* (1968) with music by Peter Sculthorpe and décor by Kenneth Rowell, however, none of these aroused as much controversy as *The Display*. Nolan capitalised on the success of *The Display* and his décor by producing a couple of small paintings inspired by the production. The first of these, *The Display I*, is particularly graphic in its portrayal of the violent themes of the ballet. It depicts the lyrebird clearly mounting his display upon the fallen body of a human male, presumably The Outsider, with the body of The Female lying in the foreground (see figure 5.34).

[132] *The Display: Concert Suite from the Ballet* consists of seven movements: "The Forest – The People," "The Picnic," "The Girl," "The Youngsters," "The Stranger," "The Stranger and the Girl," "The Lyre Bird." The *Concert Suite* has been performed and recorded a number of times, including by the Sydney Symphony Orchestra under the direction of both John Hopkins and Stuart Challender. The score is published by Josef Weinberger. Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue" (Hertfordshire: Campion Press, 2008).

[133] *Perisynthion* will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Figure 5.34 Nolan, *The Display I*.

The second painting in the series, *The Display II*, is much more simplistic, portraying the lyrebird in a similar setting to that used in the production of the ballet (see Figure 5.35).

Figure 5.35 Nolan, *The Display II*.

In the years immediately following his work on *The Display*, Nolan produced his masterpieces *Riverbend I* (1964-65) and *Riverbend II* (1965-66), two multi-panelled landscape paintings that include the figure of Ned Kelly against backdrops similar to the bush-like scene he captured in *The Display*.[134] These works, like those in the *Ned Kelly* series and the *Leda and the Swan* series, show Nolan's preoccupation with subjects inspired by myth, as well as the Australian landscape.

As Australian expatriates, Williamson, Helpmann and Nolan shared many similar experiences. At times, all three had been made to feel like outsiders from Australian society, despite their deliberate attempts to maintain personal and professional ties with their homeland and to publicise themselves and their creative works as "Australian." *The Display* was significant on the surface level because it was identifiably Australian in character and because it helped establish the reputation of the newly-formed Australian Ballet. However, for Williamson, Helpmann and Nolan, *The Display*'s Australian topoi carried a symbolic subtext. It was a means through which they could express their personal feelings towards Australia from abroad. It was an allegory, a *display*, of the expatriate experience.

Williamson's personal experiences abroad continued to impact upon his career choices and his sense of national identity well into the 1970s and 1980s. In fact, it seems that the longer he spent abroad, the more determined he was to create a firm nexus between himself, his music and his homeland. The following chapter, Chapter 6, will examine the works he composed for Australia between 1970 and 1985 in order to gain an understanding of how and why he continued to project a sense of Australian identity in his music, despite his choice to remain an expatriate.

[134] Andrew Sayers, 169. *The Display* was the last ballet to which Nolan contributed.

Chapter Six

The "Australian" Compositions, 1970-1985

Despite the outstanding success of Williamson's score for the all-Australian ballet *The Display* in 1964, the composer did not produce another work for Australia until the 1970s. In the interim, he was inundated with commissions for scores for various British theatrical projects including operas, ballets, cassations and music for film and television, which no doubt arose as a direct result of his success with *The Display*.[1] Consequently, the late 1960s became Williamson's most prolific period and for the first time since his arrival in London he was able to pursue a career as a composer full-time.[2] His status within the British music scene gained considerable strength during this period. The media began to refer to him as "Britain's most-commissioned composer" and his music received the imprimatur of a number of prominent British composers, conductors and musicians, including Benjamin Britten, Peter Pears and Adrian Boult.[3] Yet, frustratingly, he had to wait another six years after the premiere of *The Display* before he received another new commission from his homeland. This was perhaps due in part to the stir he had caused during his first return visit to Australia in 1967, when he had criticised local commissioning bodies for ignoring his music, as discussed in Chapter 3. Regardless,

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[1] Operas composed during the period 1964-70 include: *English Eccentrics* (1963-64), *The Happy Prince* (1964-65), *Julius Caesar Jones* (1965), *The Violins of Saint-Jacques* (1966), *The Brilliant and the Dark* (1966), *Dunstan and the Devil* (1967), *The Growing Castle* (1968) and *Lucky Peter's Journey* (1967-69). During the late 1960s, Williamson was also working on the chamber opera *The Death of Cuchulain* (1968-71). Ballet scores composed between 1964 and 1970 include *Sun into Darkness* (1966), *Sinfonietta* (1965-67), *Spectrum* (1967) and *BigfellaTootsSquoodgeandNora* (1967). Cassations composed between 1964 and 1970 include *The Moonrakers* (1967), *Knights in Shining Armour* (1968) and *The Snow Wolf* (1968). Williamson also composed other inclusive pieces during this period, such as *Hallo Everybody* (1969), a collection of twenty-four songs for students beginning to learn the English language. The film scores composed at this time include *North Sea Strike* (1964, documentary), *September Spring* (1964, documentary), *Rio Tinto Zinc* (1965, documentary), *Crescendo* (1969), *The Horror of Frankenstein* (1969) and *Nothing but the Night* (1970). Scores for television and radio composed during the same period include *Strange Excellency* (1964, BBC TV documentary), *Bald Twit Lion* (1967), *Choice* (1965, signature tune), *Gallery* (1966, signature tune) and *Chi Ming* (*Jackanory*) (1968). Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue" (Hertfordshire: Campion Press, 2008). For more information, see Appendix B, "Complete List of Musical Works by Malcolm Williamson."

[2] Malcolm Williamson, "Conversation with Malcolm Williamson," interview by Hazel de Berg, transcript of sound recording, 8 October 1967, National Library of Australia ORAL DeB 290, 291, 292.

[3] Paul Conway, "Malcolm Williamson – A 70th Birthday Tribute," *Music Web International*; available from http://www.musicweb-international.com/Williamson/index.htm; Internet; accessed 17 June 2007.

Williamson remained determined to continue his association with the country of his birth and this is evidenced by the number and nature of the works he composed for Australia during the 1970s and early 1980s. Some of these works are abstract and written for the sole purpose of fulfilling requests from Australian commissioning bodies,[4] while others were inspired by essentially Australian subjects and provide a valuable insight into Williamson's relationship with Australia and the views that he held towards his homeland at that time.

Ironically, several of the works that Williamson composed for Australia during the early 1970s had strong ties to Britain; they were written for performance during the Queen's visits to Australia. The first of these was the anthem *I Will Lift Up Mine Eyes* for chorus, echo chorus and organ, which was commissioned by St Stephen's Uniting Church, Sydney, in 1970 and first performed there on 3 May 1970 during the Queen's visit to the church.[5] Three years later, Williamson composed a further two works for performance during the 1973 Royal visit to Australia; *Adelaide Fanfare* (1973) for brass and organ was premiered during the Queen and Prince Philip's visit to Adelaide and *Canberra Fanfare* (1973) for brass and percussion was written for performance at the opening of the Canberra Theatre by the Queen.[6] Other than their titles, these works do not carry any direct references to Australia; however, there is little doubt that Williamson's readiness to compose works for

[4] An example of this is the Concerto for Two Pianos and String Orchestra (1972) which was commissioned by the Australia Council and the Astra Chamber Orchestra and premiered in 1972 in Melbourne by Charles H Webb, Wallace Hornibrook and the Astra Chamber Orchestra under Logie Smith. The score is published by Josef Weinberger. Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue," 22.

[5] Queen Elizabeth II, the Duke of Edinburgh and Princess Anne attended the performance. *I Will Lift Up Mine Eyes* is a setting of Psalm 121. The performance at St Stephen's Church, Sydney, was recorded by the ABC and released on the LP *A Time for Greatness*, EMI MONO OXLP 7526 Series 395. The score was later published by Josef Weinberger, appearing as the first of Williamson's *Carols of King David*. Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue," 41.

[6] The primary purpose of the Queen's visit to Australia in 1973 was to open the Sydney Opera House on 20 October. She was in Australia from 17-22 October 1973. "Commonwealth Visits Since 1952," *The Official Website of the British Monarchy*; available from http://www.royal.gov.uk/MonarchUK/RoyalVisits/Commonwealthvisitssince1952.aspx; Internet; accessed 3 March 2009. *Adelaide Fanfare* and *Canberra Fanfare* are published by Josef Weinberger. Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue," 46.

Royal visits to his homeland would have impressed the Queen and may have even played a part in convincing her and her advisors that he was a worthy candidate for the post of Master of the Queen's Music when it became available in 1975. If the Queen had indeed been advised that it would be favourable among the people of the Commonwealth to appoint a composer from the antipodes, as reports from the mid-1970s suggest, then it is not surprising that Williamson was the one selected.

Although Williamson was not in Australia during the Queen's visit, he also made a visit to Australia during 1973, on this occasion to take up the Australian National University's Creative Arts Fellowship, as mentioned in Chapter 3. It was during this visit that he received a commission from the ABC to compose his next work for Australia, the cassation *The Glitter Gang* (1973-74).[7] The person responsible for organising this commission was the British-born conductor John Hopkins (b. 1927), who held the position of Federal Director of Music at the ABC from 1963-73. Hopkins had previously conducted works by Williamson, including the concert suite of *The Display*, and Williamson considered him a "real friend."[8] Given their close association, Hopkins would have been well aware of the positive impact that the cassations had been having on children with physical and intellectual impairments, especially considering that Williamson spoke of his achievements in this field frequently and with great pride.[9] No doubt, Williamson also hoped that *The Glitter Gang* would be performed by physically and intellectually disabled children, as well as able-bodied children, in the future.[10]

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[7] During interviews given in the early 1970s, Williamson spoke about a new children's opera he was working on and referred to the work under different titles, including "The Stealers of Clear Water" and "Thirst." While it can not be confirmed, it is likely that these works became *The Glitter Gang*, especially considering their titles are such a close match to the subject matter of *The Glitter Gang*.

[8] Malcolm Williamson, Hertfordshire, to Bessie Williamson, Australia, 20 February 1985, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson, National Library of Australia MS Acc04/159.

[9] This is evident in his letters held at the National Library of Australia, MS Acc04/159.

[10] A clue to this lies in the dedication. The score is dedicated to Dr. Ralph Reader, a heart specialist and husband of Hazel Reader, who herself had been Chairperson of the 1967 Canberra Spring Festival Committee. Williamson had stayed with Ralph and Hazel Reader for the duration of the 1967 Festival and it was through them that he had met the intellectually impaired children at the Koomarri School, which was not

The Glitter Gang is scored for audience and orchestra (or piano) and takes approximately eleven minutes to perform.[11] The scenario, which was devised by Williamson, illustrates awareness of Australia's indigenous past and is the first of a number of works that he composed that explore issues pertaining to the treatment of indigenous Australians at the hands of European settlers.[12] It was through the use of such obviously Australian themes that the composer reinforced the notion that his music was Australian in origin. The plot of *The Glitter Gang* is set in the mid-nineteenth century in the hot, parched Australian outback. The characters are divided into three distinct groups: indigenous Australians, referred to simply as the "Australians;" white European settlers, known as the "Europeans;" and a group of rough, Ned Kelly-like horsemen armed with guns, labelled the "Outlaws." According to the synopsis included with the score, the "Australians" have been driven inland from the coastline by the acquisitive European settlers and have discovered a stream of water, on which they have come to rely as their primary source of life. Not far away, some thirsty "Europeans" have been searching for gold; however, they have realised that without water they will perish in the semi-desert heat. The "Australians" hear the cries of the "Europeans" and out of pity, they lead them to the stream to drink, effectively saving their lives. After satisfying their thirst, the "Europeans" notice that the stream is filled with unclaimed raw gold and they conspire to frighten the "Australians" away so that they can steal the gold. The "Australians" are driven away from the stream and take refuge behind rocks and trees to watch the "Europeans" from a safe distance. As the "Europeans" excitedly draw gold from the stream, the "Outlaws" can be heard approaching on horseback in the distance; they have heard the commotion at the stream

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far from their home. Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, *Malcolm Williamson: A Mischievous Muse* (London: Omnibus Press, 2007), 258. The dedication to Reader implies that Williamson had in mind the enjoyable time he had shared with the Readers and the Koomarri children whilst composing the work.

[11] *The Glitter Gang* was premiered by John Hopkins and the Sydney Symphony Orchestra on 23 February 1974 at the Sydney Town Hall. The orchestral version of *The Glitter Gang* is scored for 2222/4331/Perc/Hp/Strings. Malcolm Williamson, *The Glitter Gang: A Cassation for Audience and Orchestra (Piano)* (London: Josef Weinberger, 1975).

[12] The remainder of these works will be discussed in Chapter 7.

and have come to claim the gold for themselves. The "Outlaws" fire their rifles at the "Europeans," then take the gold and ride away. The "Australians," who have witnessed the shooting from a distance, emerge from their hiding place to discover that their life-giving stream has been polluted with the corpses of the "Europeans." The "Australians" then sing a final threnody over the stream before turning away from the scene in grief; unable to comprehend how their kind and compassionate actions could have led to such a devastating outcome.[13]

While this arresting story may not have been based on actual historical accounts, elements of the story are far from fictitious. It is indisputable that the nineteenth-century Gold Rush proved to be something of a second wave of dispossession for indigenous Australians. Already forced inland by the first European settlements along the coastlines, the discovery of gold in Australia in the 1850s saw indigenous populations lose even more of their traditional land, as a significant proportion of Australia's land mass was searched and cleared of all useful resources, including gold and other minerals, as well as timber.[14] This had devastating implications for indigenous Australians, as their traditional sources of food, including native plants and animals, also disappeared. In addition, contact between settler and indigenous populations during the Gold Rush was often violent and ended in the decimation of many indigenous tribes, as has been well-documented in the literature. Considering these facts, it is clear that Williamson had a strong awareness of Australian history and that elements of his plot for *The Glitter Gang* were indeed based upon historical facts.[15]

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[13] Malcolm Williamson, *The Glitter Gang*, preface.
[14] Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 86-87, 105.
[15] It is apparent from Williamson's letters that he had an ongoing interest in Australian literature and although it is not known for certain, it is likely that at the time of writing *The Glitter Gang* he was familiar with recent publications on Australian history such as Henry Reynolds' *Aborigines and Settlers: The Australian Experience, 1788-1939* (North Melbourne: Cassell, 1972) and had stayed in-touch with issues pertinent to Australians through journals such as *Quadrant*.

Although Williamson's papers do not give any indication as to why he composed a work with indigenous Australian themes at this time, it is evident from statements he made in the 1980s that he had long been a fervent supporter of indigenous rights and this will be addressed in detail in Chapter Seven. Certainly, it is clear from his use of the single word "Australians" to refer to the indigenous Australians in *The Glitter Gang* that he viewed the original inhabitants of the land to be the *true* Australians, which was really a minority view among white Australians at that time. Further impetus for the composition of a work based on indigenous themes may have arisen from Williamson's belief that in order for an Australian composer to "seriously disturb the language of music in the Western world," an "acceptance of his indigenous past" would be necessary, as discussed in Chapter Three.[16] Irrespective of Williamson's motivations for composing the work, *The Glitter Gang* is a powerful statement on behalf of Australia's indigenous population and it is directed at arguably the most influential audience for initiating change in Australia's future; the country's children.

Williamson's scenario for *The Glitter Gang* is accompanied by original music that is simple enough for children to learn and recall easily from memory, but complex enough to maintain their interest, contribute to their general musical education and support the action of the cassation's uniquely Australian plot. This is evident from the very outset of the work. For instance, the main theme consists of a simple, mostly stepwise melody which is characterised by a basic quaver and semi-quaver rhythmic pattern and a descending line profile that is reminiscent of Aboriginal melody (see Figure 6.1, bars 6-15). In its first appearance, the theme is in the key of E major; a key in which it is relatively easy for most children to sing. In this passage the theme is sung by the "Australians" as they lament the

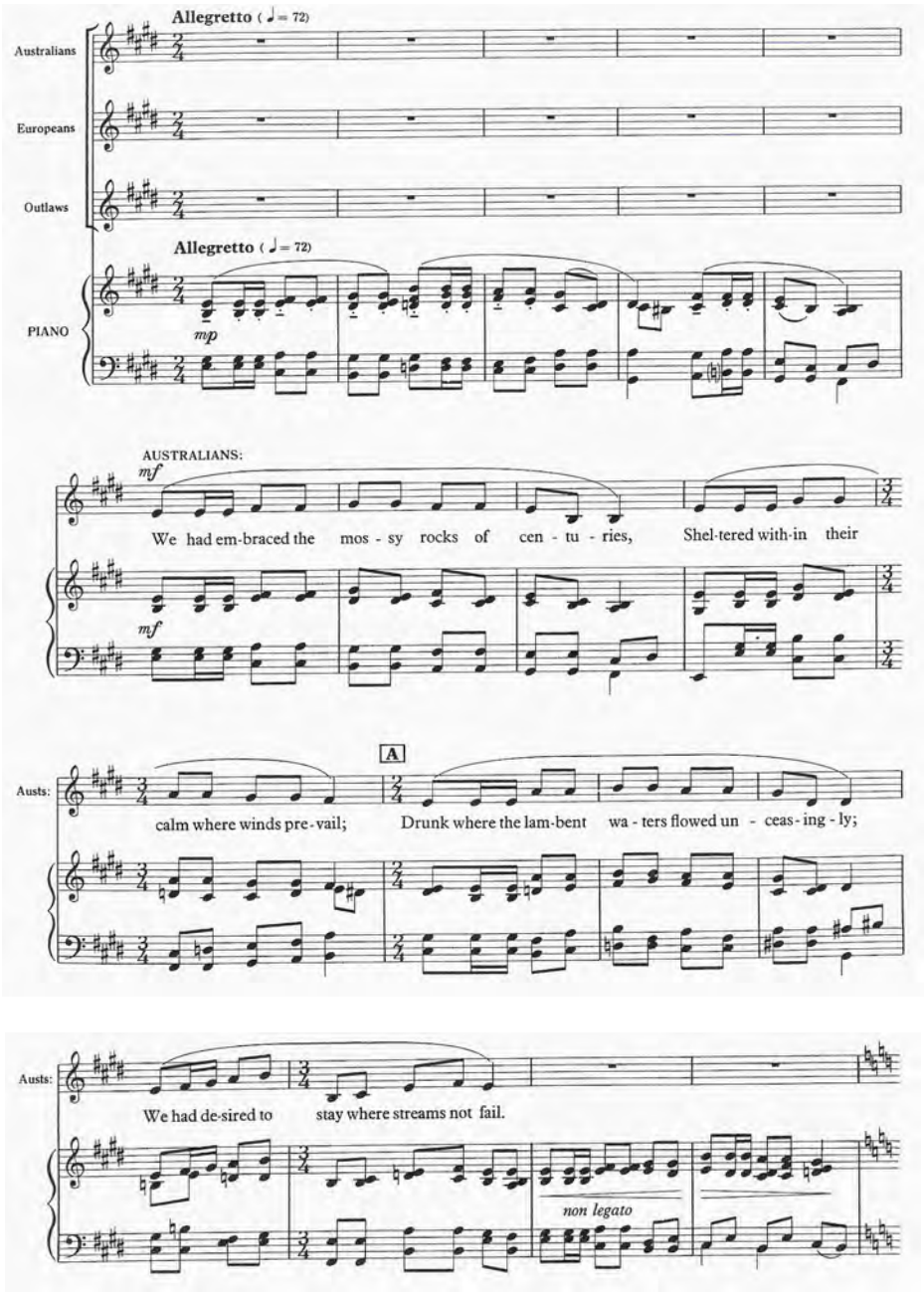
[16] Williamson, "A Composer's Heritage," *Composer* (Spring 1966): 71-72.

fact that they have been driven inland by the invading "Europeans."[17] The general shape, melodic range and rhythm of the theme are introduced to the students for the first time in a brief introduction for orchestra or piano, depending on which medium is used (see bars 1-6 of Figure 6.1).[18] From here onwards, the orchestra or piano plays a supportive role for the performers, carrying the melody in the highest "voice" most of the way through to help the performers keep pitch. While keeping the elements of melody, rhythm and key relatively simple, Williamson made the music more complex by incorporating several changes of time signature into the work. As can be seen in Figure 6.1, the metre oscillates between simple-duple and simple-triple time.

[17] The second stanza of text sung by the "Australians" continues this theme, reading, "Strangers appeared and drove us from our greener lands; Strangers unfriendly, bearded, fearful, pale; Drove us away to live among the desert sands; They had desired to live where streams not fail!" Malcolm Williamson, *The Glitter Gang*, 2-3.

[18] The following discussion will refer to the piano reduction of the score, from which the musical examples provided are drawn: Malcolm Williamson, *The Glitter Gang: A Cassation for Audience and Orchestra (Piano)* (London: Josef Weinberger, 1975).

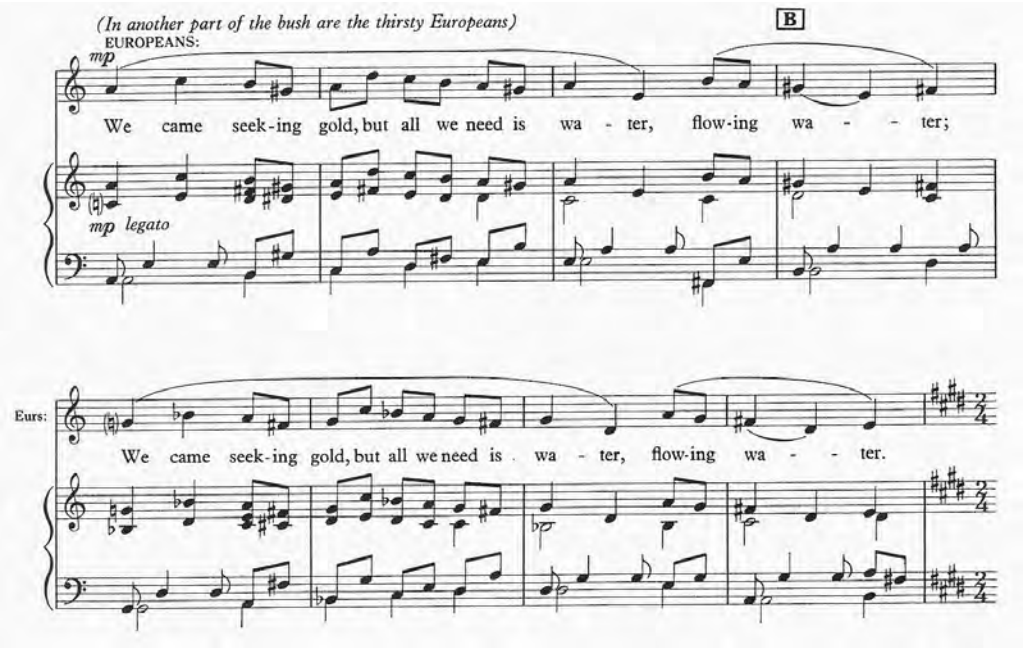
Figure 6.1 Williamson, *The Glitter Gang*, bb. 1-17.



This theme recurs through the work as a form of refrain, albeit with different words used at each appearance. The use of a simple refrain lends dramatic unity to the composition and also allows it to be learned in a short timeframe. Although not always in the key of E major, the main theme is always presented in a major key, and often accompanies stanzas of text sung solely by the "Australians" and usually with positive or peaceful connotations. In contrast, the intervening verse-like sections are in minor keys and usually feature texts

performed by the greedy and self-absorbed "Europeans" and/or "Outlaws." For instance, the section of music that immediately follows the previous example explores the key areas of A minor (see Figure 6.2, bars 18-21) and G minor (see Figure 6.2, from bar 22), while the accompanying text, assigned to the "Europeans," tells of their desire to find gold and their even more pressing need to find fresh water in order to survive.

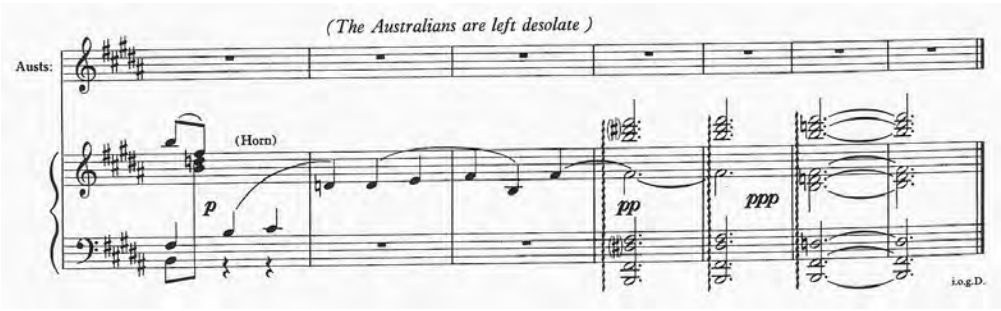
Figure 6.2 Williamson, *The Glitter Gang*, bb. 18-25.



By using the major mode to represent the "Australians," as shown in Figure 6.1, and the minor mode to accompany the text sung by the "Europeans," as illustrated in Figure 6.2, Williamson segregated the two groups musically and in doing so, successfully juxtaposed the innocence and generosity of the "Australians" with the selfishness of the "Europeans." This musical characterisation continues through the remainder of the work, as sections in major and minor keys are alternated, and a similar shifting of modes is also used to great effect in the conclusion, where the key centre shifts several times between B major (see Figure 6.3, bars 201-2) and its parallel minor, B minor (see Figure 6.3, bars 198-200 and

bars 203-4).[19] This passage of music accompanies the scene in which the "Australians" stand desolate beside their once life-giving stream and reflect on the shocking events that have unfolded before their eyes.

Figure 6.3 Williamson, *The Glitter Gang*, bb. 198-204.

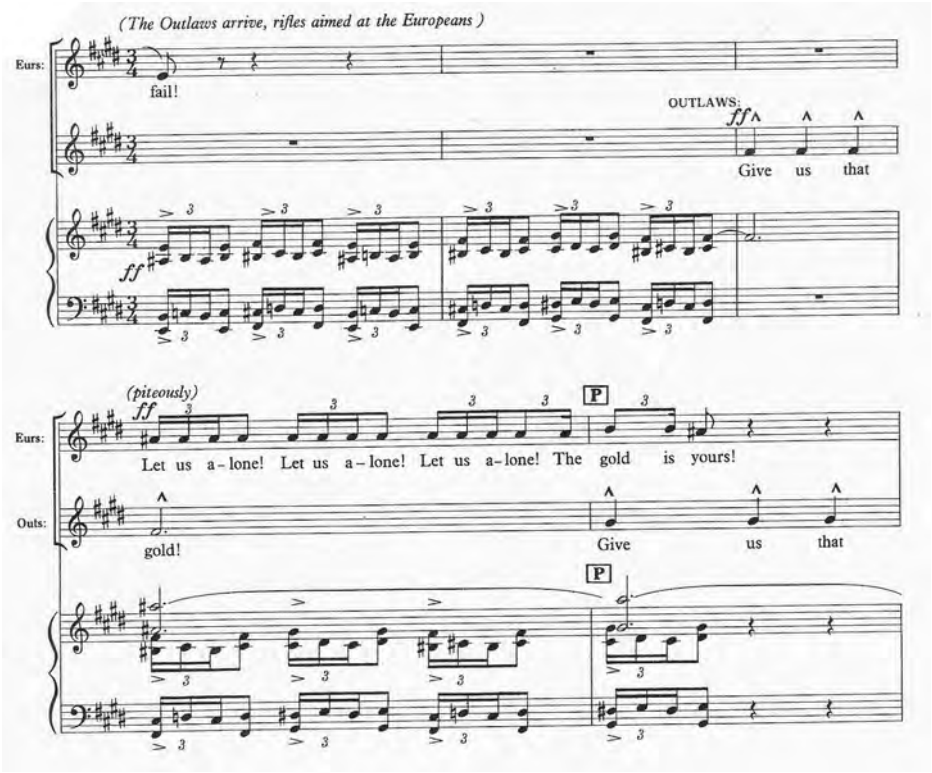


The alternation between major and minor modes in this passage can be interpreted as a musical representation of the indigenous Australians' struggle to understand how their generous actions could have led to such a violent and disturbing outcome.[20] As can be seen in Figure 6.3, the work closes with one final progression from B major to B minor.[21] By refusing to close the work on a major chord, Williamson conveyed the message that the loss of innocence experienced by the "Australians" is permanent and can never be restored.

Williamson employed a range of other musical devices to support the action of *The Glitter Gang* and to maintain the interest of participants, with the music playing a fundamental role in conveying certain aspects of the drama. For instance, as the "Outlaws" arrive at the stream on horseback to claim the gold, a succession of loud triplet figurations are heard in the accompaniment to represent the sound of horses galloping (see Figure 6.4).

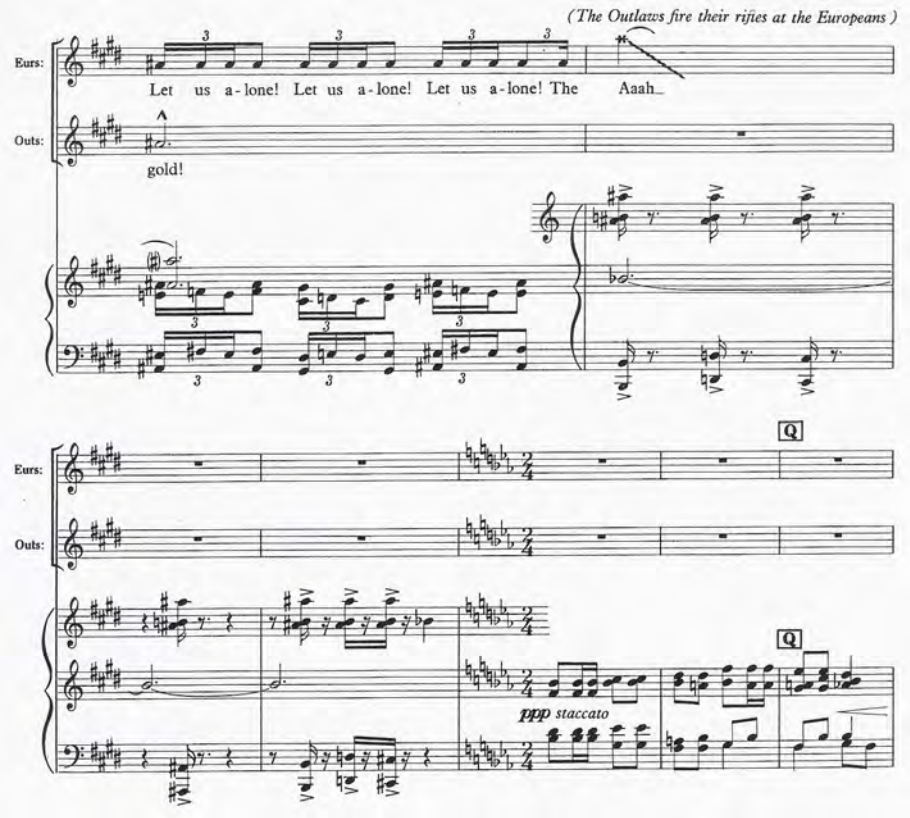
[19] Musical characterisation was also a feature of *The Display*, another identifiably Australian work, where it was also used to separate and differentiate the various groups of characters, as discussed in Chapter 5.
[20] Moments earlier, instrumental fragments of the original themes used to represent the "Australians" and the "Europeans" (as shown in Figure 6.1 and Figure 6.2) are heard. These musical links to the opening of the cassation remind the audience/performer how the "Australians" ended up in this predicament; it was a result of their own generosity. Then the "Australians" are heard questioning "who would not help a stranger?" Malcolm Williamson, *The Glitter Gang*, 12.
[21] The final page of the score includes Williamson's trademark "i.o.g.D."

Figure 6.4 Williamson, *The Glitter Gang*, bb. 147-51.



Moments later, when the "Outlaws" fire their rifles at the "Europeans," dramatic accented chords are heard from the accompaniment to represent the sound of gunshots, as the "Europeans" gasp "Aaah" and fall to the ground (see Figure 6.5).

Figure 6.5 Williamson, *The Glitter Gang*, bb. 154-60.



As the previous examples indicate, the score instructs participants to portray a range of different emotions, from jubilation to pity and fear, and to create a variety of expressive vocal sounds, such as whispers, gasps, groans, chants and shouts, in order to convey drama and create a realistic operatic "performance." The music also employs a wide dynamic range, which adds to the cassation's dramatic appeal. For instance, when the "Outlaws" are seen and heard approaching in the distance, the volume of the singing and accompaniment grows increasing louder with each occurrence, beginning with the marking *mp* (see Figure 6.6), followed by *mf* (see Figure 6.7) and finally, an accented *ff* passage as the "Outlaws" arrive at the stream (as shown earlier in Figure 6.4). These elements, however, are not included in the score for the sole purpose of supporting the dramatic

action of the plot, but are also there to educate participants of all ages in the basic concepts of music and more specifically, the mechanics of opera.[22]

Figure 6.6 Williamson, *The Glitter Gang*, bb. 63-67.

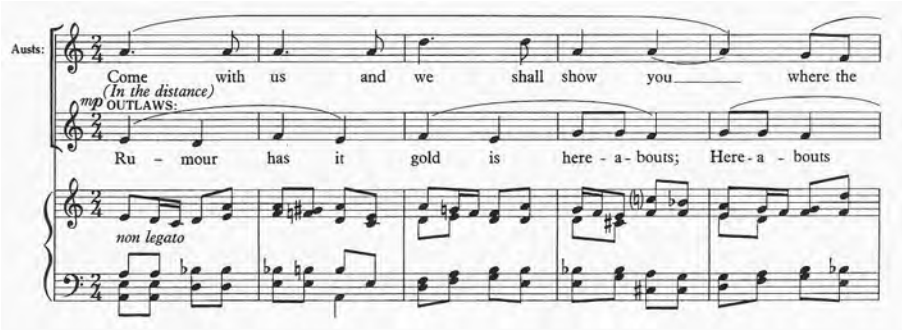
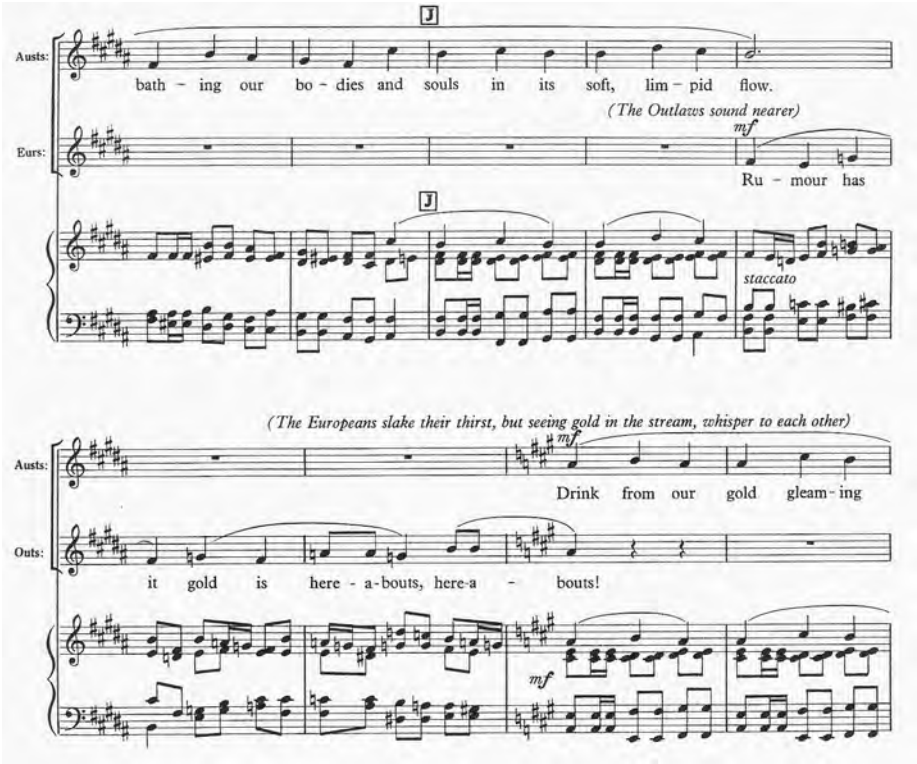


Figure 6.7 Williamson, *The Glitter Gang*, bb. 89-97.



The didactic elements featured in *The Glitter Gang* are present in each of Williamson's ten cassations which, combined with the *Travel Diaries* and other educational works,

[22] Malcolm Williamson, "Composer's Note to Teachers and Producers," *The Glitter Gang*, 14.

demonstrate the composer's ongoing commitment to music education. Each of the cassations features a chorus, a range of different time-signatures, changes between major and minor keys and simple modes and an array of dynamic and expressive markings, so that the participants experience a variety of types of music within one continuous piece of music.[23] The importance Williamson placed on the *teaching* of these elements is obvious in his inclusion of comprehensive notes for teachers and producers within each score.[24]

In addition to illustrating Williamson's dedication to music education, cassations such as *The Glitter Gang* also exemplify the composer's inclusive philosophy which, as discussed in Chapter 3, was a direct product of his Australian upbringing, as well as his desire as an expatriate to feel a sense of "belonging" in both the home and adoptive countries. Not only were the cassations designed to teach people of all ages about opera production, but they were also written for the purpose of entertaining and *including* all people in the music-making process. Williamson was very clear about this inclusive aspect of the cassations in his note to teachers included in the score to *The Glitter Gang*, in which he specifies that while any number of people can be involved in the cassation, it is important that all present actively participate in the singing and acting so that there is no audience. The role of the teacher is to teach the music, direct the production and then accompany the "performance" on the piano. Since there is no audience present to judge the performance,

[23] Malcolm Williamson, "Composer's Note to Teachers and Producers," *The Glitter Gang*, 14. Further to this, most of the cassations feature a moral lesson within their storyline, which would teach children to think about their own behaviour and actions.

[24] In the "Composer's Note to Teachers and Producers" included in the score, Williamson specified that the rehearsal process should begin with the teaching of the music. Once the children have a basic grasp of the musical concepts, the teacher or director should take each group through the movements of the action without music. The teacher should then combine the two elements, bearing in mind that the children's divide of concentration between singing and acting will probably be to the detriment of the performance. According to the time available, it may be rehearsed several times. The aim of the final "performance" is for the cassation to be performed non-stop as professionally as possible; however, Williamson also encouraged improvisation and acknowledged that the cassations are open to any dramatic interpretation. They can be performed in schoolrooms, in the open air or anywhere informal. Basic sets, such as chairs and tables, as well as lighting may be used to indicate acting areas, such as the stream, and simple costumes can also be used, such as hats for the "Outlaws." When composing the work, Williamson deliberately kept the music and words simple, so that they may be memorised quickly and easily co-ordinated into the dramatic production. Malcolm Williamson, "Composer's Note to Teachers and Producers," *The Glitter Gang*, 14.

emphasis is placed on the children's enjoyment and abandon rather than polished perfection. With the performers divided into groups, there are no soloists, and as a result, the children should not feel self-conscious. They are, however, encouraged to act as individuals and use their imaginations. Williamson also included special instructions for teachers working with students whose native language is not English, stating that the cassations "also constitute an elementary and painless English language lesson, since music helps to lodge a foreign language in the brain."[25] In addition, like most of Williamson's cassations, *The Glitter Gang* has been translated into another language, in this case, French.[26] All these elements combine to make this a truly useful and inclusive work of art.

Despite Williamson's best intentions, however, *The Glitter Gang* has not always been well received by critics. In a review following a performance by the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra in March 1991, critic Kenneth Hince described *The Glitter Gang* as "vapid and insubstantial."[27] In his review, Hince mentions the various uses of the term "cassation" through musical history, making a specific reference to the cassations of Mozart, which are not unlike divertimenti. He then provides a standard dictionary definition of the word "cassation," meaning "the act of making null and void," and follows this by stating, "This is the [same] meaning favoured by Williamson, whose *The Glitter Gang* is *void* of music and makes *null* of the time spent in playing it."[28] This harsh critique completely ignores the true purpose of the work; the fact that it is intended to be performed by children in order to educate them about opera and to encourage them to enjoy participating in music-

[25] Malcolm Williamson, "Composer's Note to Teachers and Producers," *The Glitter Gang*, 14. Williamson had previously composed a work specifically for children whose first language is not English – *Hallo Everybody: 24 Songs for Students Beginning English* (1969).
[26] *The Glitter Gang* was translated into French by Mario Bois. Many of Williamson's cassations have been translated into both French and German. Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue."
[27] Kenneth Hince, "Symphony Series is Timely," *The Age* (Melbourne), 25 March 1991, 14.
[28] Kenneth Hince, "Symphony Series is Timely," 14.

making. It seems the organisers of the concert also overlooked Williamson's written guidelines for performance of the work; they employed three solo singers to lead the audience in the "performance." Hince did not approve of this move either, declaring that the soloists were "needlessly present, because what Williamson gave them to sing was unmitigated rubbish."[29] He also reported that there was little participation from the "audience" in this instance. It is not clear why Hince made such damning remarks about *The Glitter Gang*, but it is obvious from his report that he knew little about Williamson's work with children or the success he had experienced whilst working on the cassations with physically and intellectually impaired children.

While *The Glitter Gang* is not a major work in terms of its scale or the level of success it has achieved, it nonetheless holds a significant place in Williamson's compositional output. Not only is it an effective pedagogical work, but it also provides a powerful lesson in issues pertaining to Australia's past, in the hope that the intended "audience" – Australia's children – will be aware and mindful of this aspect of Australian history. As mentioned previously, *The Glitter Gang* is the first of several works that Williamson composed with texts concerning the plight of Australia's indigenous population and it is through such works that he created a strong nexus between his music and his homeland through the latter years of his career.

During the same period that Williamson was working on *The Glitter Gang*, he also had another two "Australian" projects underway. The first of these was the score for Robert Helpmann's ballet *Perisynthion* (1973-74), which was due to be premiered by the Australian Ballet in March 1974. *Perisynthion* was Helpmann's last ballet and like his two previous ballets, *Yugen* (1965) and *Sun Music* (1968), it was influenced by an Asian

[29] Kenneth Hince, "Symphony Series is Timely," 14.

subject. Helpmann, like many Australian creative artists, had come to believe that "anything created in Australia in an artistic sense . . . should be influenced by the Asian countries."[30] The term "Perisynthion" refers to the period when the moon is at its strongest[31] and in the ballet, Helpmann intended to convey the "mysterious quality of the association with the moon that influences the East very much . . . and all the elements that the moon has a tremendous influence on – tides, emotions, madness, lunacy in all its forms, and rituals . . . and the essence of being airborne and weightless."[32] To convey these ideas, Helpmann used ropes fixed to the fly gallery above the stage and engaged a Russian aerialist to train the ballet dancers in acrobatics (see Figure 6.8).[33]

Figure 6.8 Acrobatics and "moon" backdrop in Helpmann's *Perisynthion* (1974).[34]

[30] Robert Helpmann, "Robert Helpmann Interviewed by Hazel de Berg in the Hazel de Berg Collection," interview by Hazel de Berg, sound recording, 27 May 1974, *National Library of Australia Catalogue*; available from http://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Record/818756; Internet; accessed 11 November 2009.
[31] "Perisynthyon (1974 -)," *Australia Dancing*; available from http://www.australiadancing.org/subjects/1401.html; Internet; accessed 10 November 2009. The title of the work is occasionally spelt "Perisynthyon."
[32] Robert Helpmann, "Robert Helpmann Interviewed by Hazel de Berg."
[33] "Free Exhibition: Bobby Dazzler! Celebrating the Helpmann Centenary," *Queensland Performing Arts Centre Booklet*; available from http://www.qpac.com.au/resources/images/Bobby_Dazzler_booklet.pdf; Internet; accessed 10 November 2009.
[34] "Stringer, Walter: Artists of the Australian Ballet in Robert Helpmann's 'Perisynthyon,' 1974," *Australia Dancing*; available from http://www.australiadancing.org/apps/ad?action=ViewResource&id=2924; Internet; accessed 10 November 2009.

As *Perisynthion* was designed for the Australian Ballet, Helpmann felt it appropriate to commission a score from an Australian composer and initially he approached Richard Meale, who declined the offer because he did not believe he would be able to complete a score on time for the scheduled premiere.[35] Helpmann's second choice was Williamson, who had impressed Helpmann previously with his score for *The Display* (1964). Although Williamson had completed most of the score for *Perisynthion* before it was required for rehearsal, the full score and parts were not delivered by the deadline and with only two weeks remaining before the scheduled premiere, Helpmann reworked his choreography to fit with Jean Sibelius' Symphony No. 1 (1899).[36] The premiere of the ballet was not well received and Williamson was understandably disappointed that not a single note of his music had been used, as he later explained to his mother:

> Weinberger [Publishing House], who had a photocopy of the first section [of *Perisynthion*] had failed to deliver the orchestral parts for a pre-recording in Adelaide, and so the ballet people cancelled the ballet, and Bobby Helpmann made the ballet with a Sibelius symphony which had catastrophic results. I was blamed, quite wrongly. I turned away sadly from this disaster.[37]

Williamson completed the thirty-four-minute dance symphony *Perisynthion* several months after the premiere of the ballet, but the work was not heard until 1985 when conductor Dobbs Franks recorded it with the Sydney Symphony Orchestra for the ABC under a new title, *Astarte*.[38] Dobbs Franks was very impressed by the work, describing it

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[35] Robert Helpmann in Meg Abbie Denton, ed., "An Artist of Infinite Range: An Interview with Robert Helpmann Recorded by Hazel de Berg in 1974," *Brolga* (December 1996): 21.
[36] Malcolm Williamson, Hertfordshire, to Bessie Williamson, Australia, 20 April 1986, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson.
[37] Malcolm Williamson, Hertfordshire, to Bessie Williamson, Australia, 20 April 1986, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson.
[38] Simon Campion, program note for the premiere of *The Dawn is at Hand*, 20 October 1989, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson. *Astarte* was first broadcast by the ABC. Williamson later wrote to his mother about the recording of the work: "On the one hand, I'm ecstatic about the music and the recording of it. On the other hand, I'm enraged [at Weinberger Publishing House] that it has lain unregarded since 1974, and had it not been for Simon [Campion] & Dobbs & the ABC, it would probably have been lost forever." Malcolm Williamson, Hertfordshire, to Bessie Williamson, Australia, 20 April 1986, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson.

as a "masterpiece"[39] and his recording has since been broadcast on ABC Classic FM and BBC Radio 3 a number of times. Despite this, the work was not given its first live performance until more than twenty-five years after it was composed, when it was performed by conductor Christopher Austin and the BBC Concert Orchestra at a concert to celebrate Williamson's seventieth birthday.[40] Austin, a champion of Williamson's works, recently described *Perisynthion*'s sound world as follows:

> Two tubular bells and two vibraphones create a signature sound. *Perisynthion* is a combination of fantasy, imagination and extraordinarily complex compositional rigour. It is masterly. The melodic invention is all based on interlocking chords you hear initially on the vibraphones. By using the vibraphones and bells there is something less concrete about the pitch – the whole piece structurally becomes a means of gradually solidifying that grammar. But from that chromatic grammar he is also capable of writing diatonic and pan-diatonic tunes. That degree of authority is very rare.[41]

Unlike Williamson's score for *The Display*, the score for *Perisynthion* does not contain any elements that could be identified as overtly "Australian," such as distinctive bird calls. Instead, it supports the Asian influences present in Helpmann's scenario and choreography and in this way also supports Helpmann's view that Australian creative works can take inspiration from Australia's neighbouring countries, rather than the "mother country," although this does not seem to be a view that Williamson held personally.

At the same time that Williamson was working on the scores for *Perisynthion* and *The Glitter Gang*, he was also hard at work on another work with an Australian connection, the Concerto for Harp and String Orchestra ("Au tombeau du martyr juif Inconnu," 1973-76).

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[39] Malcolm Williamson, Hertfordshire, to Bessie Williamson, Australia, 20 April 1986, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson.

[40] This concert was held on the eve of Williamson's seventieth birthday at the Hippodrome, Golders Green, and broadcast by BBC Radio 3. Ivan Hewett, "Music Matters: Ivan Hewett Anticipates the 70th Birthday of Malcolm Williamson, Master of the Queen's Music," BBC Radio 3, broadcast 18 November 2001; available from Josef Weinberger Publishing, London.

[41] Christopher Austin quoted in Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 271.

This work was commissioned by the Australian Musical Association and the London Mozart Players and premiered by the latter on 17 November 1976 at Queen Elizabeth Hall, London, under Israeli conductor Yuval Zaliouk and with French harpist Martine Geliot as soloist. Apart from the fact it was commissioned by the AMA, however, this work has little to do with Australia. Instead, as its subtitle suggests, it is a deeply moving tribute to victims of the Holocaust inspired by the composer's discovery of the Tomb of the Unknown Jewish Martyr during a visit to Paris several years earlier.[42]

After Williamson completed the Concerto for Harp and String Orchestra in the mid-1970s, he did not compose another work with links to Australia until 1982. In the interim, his attention was focussed on fulfilling duties associated with his new post as Master of the Queen's Music (1975). Williamson composed a number of successful works for Royal occasions during this period; however, it was his inability to complete the *Mass of Christ the King* and the *Jubilee Symphony* in time for the Queen's Silver Jubilee that remained the media's focus. As discussed in Chapter 3, press reports from this period tarnished his reputation and undoubtedly left him feeling excluded from British society. Although he continued to compose works for Royal occasions during the 1980s, from the beginning of that decade onwards Williamson began to look nostalgically to Australia for creative inspiration and expressed a strong desire to return to his homeland permanently. As such, the majority of the large-scale works that Williamson composed from 1980 onwards were written specifically for performance in Australia. These include two compositions for full orchestra, *In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze* (1982) and Symphony No. 6 (1982), and two works for string orchestra, Symphony No. 7 (1984) and *Lento for Strings* (1985).

[42] Given the inspiration behind the Concerto for Harp and String Orchestra, it is fitting that it was premiered by an Israeli conductor, as well as a French harpist who had previously won first prize in the International Harp Contest in Israel (1965). "Winners of Previous Contests," *The International Harp Contest in Israel website*; available from http://harpcontest-israel.org.il/Winners.asp; Internet; accessed 11 December 2009.

In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze is an eight-minute orchestral tribute to Williamson's friend and mentor Sir Bernard Heinze, who died suddenly in June 1982. Williamson just happened to be in Melbourne at the time of Heinze's death, which was fortuitous considering that he had been named in Heinze's last will and testament to arrange the music for the funeral.[43] At short notice, singers from the Melbourne Conservatorium were gathered together to perform Fauré's *Requiem* for the occasion, with Williamson presiding at the organ. It was after the funeral, whilst speaking with Lady Valerie Heinze, that Williamson was inspired to write *In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze*. He promised Lady Heinze that he would have the work ready in time to be performed at the ABC's fiftieth anniversary concert, which was to be held just three weeks away, on 1 July 1982. Williamson had already been commissioned by the ABC to compose a fanfare to open this concert,[44] but it seems as though he had been struggling to find creative inspiration. The death of Heinze provided Williamson with the creative impetus necessary to put pencil to paper and he worked around the clock to complete the score in time for the concert, as he later explained in a letter to his friend, Jonathan Still:

> Lady Heinze's words "You'll do it, you'll do it!" were ringing in my ears . . . . I was obliged to stay up all night, night after night, writing the work, a big orchestral piece – 8 and a half minutes of Presto for quadruple woodwind, 6 horns, 4 trumpets, 4 trombones, tuba, harp, 6 percussion, 15-part strings for a concert in Sydney Opera House on July 1st. By some miracle it got written.[45]

In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze was premiered by the Sydney Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Patrick Thomas at the Sydney Opera House on 1 July 1982, the date

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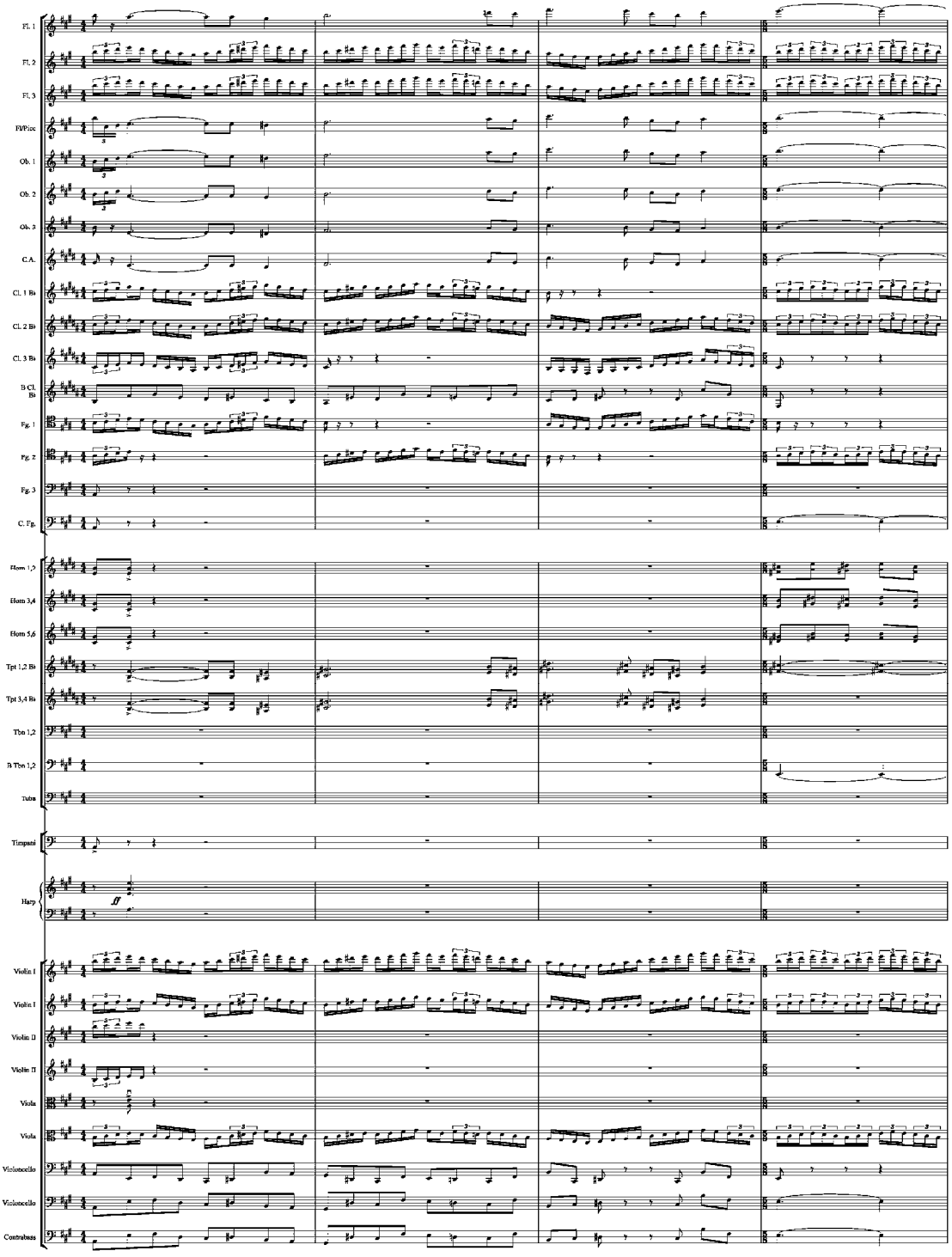
[43] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 13 January 2010.
[44] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email 13 January 2010.
[45] Malcolm Williamson to Jonathan Still, 2 August 1982, quoted in Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 385. Simon Campion, who was with Williamson at the time *In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze* was composed, recalls that soon after Heinze's funeral, he and Williamson left Melbourne for Sydney and then Japan, where most of the score for *In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze* was written. The score was completed on the plane flight during the return journey to Australia. Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 13 January 2010. The final page of the completed score tells of work undertaken in Melbourne, Tokyo, Hiroshima, Kyoto and Sydney. Malcolm Williamson, *In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze* (Hertfordshire: Campion Press, 1982).

that coincided with what would have been Heinze's 88th birthday.[46] Williamson's timing was perfect; not only had he fulfilled the commission in time for the work to be performed at the ABC's fiftieth anniversary concert, but he had also written a work that celebrated the contribution of one of the ABC's most significant figures for performance on the birth-date of the dedicatee. During Heinze's long career he worked as musical adviser to the ABC and worked extensively with each of the ABC orchestras, in particular, the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra, of which he was Chief Conductor from 1933 to 1956.[47] Williamson acknowledged Heinze's immense contribution to Australian music, and the ABC in particular, on the title page of the score of *In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze*, where he described Heinze as the ABC's "greatest musical architect."[48]

In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze is fast and lively and in a jovial mood, which suits the celebratory purpose for which it was written. The work is in the key of A major and is characterised by a bold theme in the brass which asserts itself above a busy backdrop of semiquaver runs played by the strings and woodwinds (see Figure 6.9).[49]

[46] Malcolm Williamson, *In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze*.
[47] Following his retirement from the position of Chief Conductor of the MSO, Heinze was appointed Director of the New South Wales State Conservatorium of Music (1956-66), in succession to Eugene Goossens.
[48] Malcolm Williamson, *In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze*.
[49] The choice of key was determined by the work that followed it in the ABC's programme for its fiftieth anniversary concert. According to Simon Campion, "The second item on the programme was Vaughan Williams' *Serenade to Music*. Malcolm therefore avoided the tonality of D so that his celebratory piece would function as a harmonic anacrusis for RVW whose D major would sound fresh and beautiful following Malcolm's dominant preparation: it did, though I wonder who knew the reason." Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 13 January 2010.

Figure 6.9 Williamson, *In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze*, bb. 5-8.

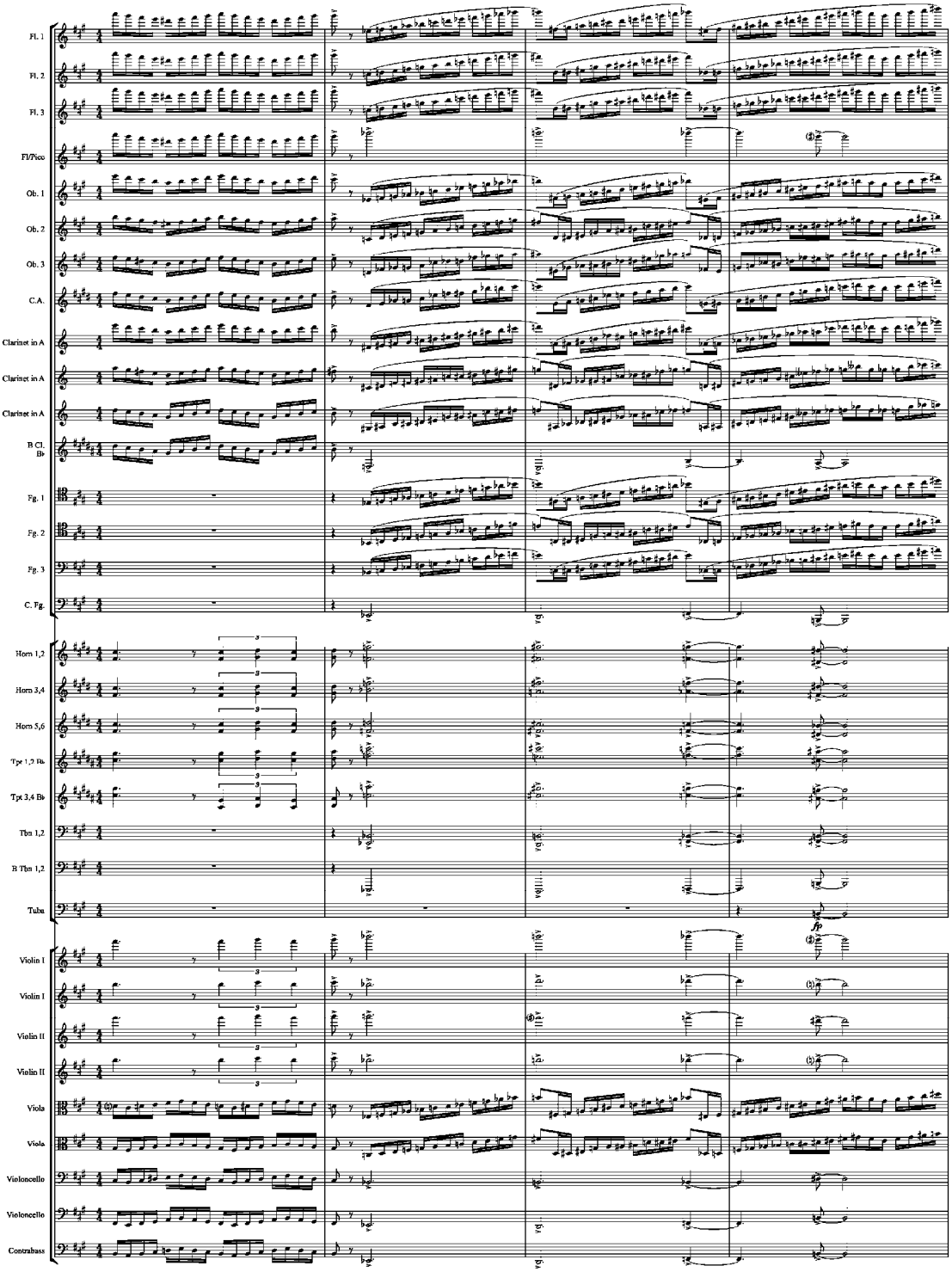


In their 2007 biography *Malcolm Williamson: A Mischievous Muse*, Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris claim that this main theme is based on Bernard Thomas Heinze's full initials,

B.T.H.[50] Unfortunately, however, Meredith and Harris do not substantiate this claim with a reference to the source of this idea, nor do they provide an example from the score or an explanation of exactly *how* these initials are represented in the music. As is evident in Figure 6.9 above, the main theme for the trumpets opens with a statement of the notes "B," "A sharp" and "C sharp," which when transposed into the work's home key of A major, sound as "A," "G sharp" and "B." Focussing on the way this motif is notated in the score, the "B natural" and "B flat" (spelt enharmonically as "A sharp") can be interpreted according to German nomenclature as representative of the letters "H" and "B," respectively, or Heinze's initials back-to-front. However, there is no intervening note that could be considered representative of the letter "T" and the note that concludes this three-note motive, "C sharp," is not commonly recognised as a substitute for the letter "T."[51] It can be concluded, therefore, that if this theme is indeed based on Bernard Heinze's initials, it can only be derived from the two initials B.H., not the three initials B.T.H., as Meredith and Harris have asserted. The theory that this main theme is based on the two initials B.H. is confirmed when the theme reaches a climax at bar 255 with two accented chords that spell out the notes "B" (B flat) and "H" (B natural) at concert pitch in the highest voices of the orchestration, first violin and piccolo (see Figure 6.10 below).[52]

[50] Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 385.
[51] Other possible substitutions for the letter "T" are "D" (like Schumann in *Bezeth* – B-E-S-E-D-H) or "F" in the French system for generating cryptograms, which is akin to normal encipherment.
[52] Simon Campion agrees with this analysis, stating, "There is no doubt about the force of BH [in the climax at bar 255] as great twin pillars in tribute to the ABC's 'greatest musical architect.'" Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 15 January 2010.

Figure 6.10 Williamson, *In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze*, bb. 254-57.



In addition, there is no doubt that the work's joyous and extrovert character was inspired by and intended to represent the vibrant and at times dominating personality of Sir Bernard Heinze, a fact that has been verified by Williamson's partner and publisher Simon

Campion.[53] By evoking a sense of Heinze's personality in this work, Williamson demonstrated his ongoing commitment to capturing the essence of the Australian character in his music, the concept of "brashness" that he spoke about so frequently, and simultaneously strengthened the association between his music and his homeland, Australia.

Williamson described the premiere of *In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze* as a "radiant success,"[54] and a review by Roger Covell seems to support this observation. Covell described the work as "one of the best occasional pieces I have heard from [Williamson] . . . Sir Bernard, himself – I think I can safely assert this – would have loved to conduct it . . . . The composer's sympathy and affection for his dedicatee were palpable."[55] Lady Heinze, who was present at the premiere, was also delighted by the work and believed, like Covell, that it was just the sort of music that her husband would have loved to conduct, as she expressed to Williamson and Campion following the performance.[56] The work also achieved great success in the years following its premiere. During the Australian bicentennial year, 1988, it was recorded by Dobbs Franks and the Queensland Symphony Orchestra and this recording was played when the Queen opened the new Parliament House in Canberra in May 1988.[57] The work was heard again the following year, 1989, at a concert by the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Vernon Handley, when Williamson was presented with the Bernard Heinze Award for his

[53] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 13 January 2010.
[54] Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 385.
[55] Roger Covell, "Sir Bernard Would Have Loved to Conduct," no date or newspaper title given, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson.
[56] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 13 January 2010. In a card Lady Heinze sent to Williamson's mother in July 1982, she expressed similar thoughts, writing: "I can't begin to tell you how much we owe to Malcolm over this very sad period in our lives. He has been a tower of strength in every way – musically and in the very beautiful tributes he paid to Bernard in his talks on radio and particularly the program at the A.B.C. 50th Anniversary Concert. His composition in honour of Bernard spoke for itself – a noble – inspiring and beautiful work. You have indeed a son to be very proud of." Valerie Heinze to Bessie Williamson, Port Macquarie NSW, 2 July 1982, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson.
[57] Barbara Hebden, "QSO Does Not Live by Concert Alone," *The Sunday Mail* (Brisbane), 1 May 1988, 33.

service to music in Australia.[58] These Australian performances and subsequent recording further strengthen the work's connection with Australia.[59]

Williamson's Symphony No. 6 for full orchestra was also commissioned by the ABC to celebrate its Golden Jubilee in 1982. The symphony is a large-scale work of approximately forty-seven minutes duration which was written for all seven ABC orchestras to play and record as part of a television film commemorating fifty years of ABC broadcasting.[60] The score is subtitled "Liturgy of Homage to the Australian Broadcasting Commission in its fiftieth year as University to the Australian Nation" and the purpose of the work was to pay homage to the ABC in a way that included every orchestral musician employed by the Commission at the time, including those from the six state orchestras as well as the training orchestra, the ABC Sinfonia.[61] The accompanying film was to include footage of the orchestral musicians playing the symphony as well as a montage of scenic images from each Australian state, making it a unique and wholly-Australian project.[62] Although presented in a single movement, the symphony consists of a succession of fourteen linked sections, each intended to be performed and recorded by different orchestras.[63] For example, the opening of the symphony is scored for the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra, the conclusion for the Sydney Symphony Orchestra, and

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[58] Simon Campion, "Malcolm Williamson: Composer," *J Audrey Ellison International Artists' Management*; available from http://www.ellison-intl.freeserve.co.uk/Malcolm%20Williamson.htm; Internet; accessed 1 March 2005. This performance of *In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze* was instigated by Simon Campion, who had hoped that the work would then be performed at subsequent Bernard Heinze Award ceremonies. Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 13 January 2010.

[59] In addition, the work has also been performed in England on at least one occasion. Campion recalls that it was performed in the Cambridge Corn Exchange in the late 1980s or early 1990s. Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 13 January 2010.

[60] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 2 July 2007. The score of the Sixth Symphony is published by Campion Press.

[61] Roger Covell, "The Middle Ages Offers Up a Salute to the ABC," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 October 1986), 18. The Australian Broadcasting Commission did not change its name to Australian Broadcasting Corporation until the following year, July 1983.

[62] Laurie Strachan, "Mixing Our Musical History," *The Australian*, 10 November 1982, 10. Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 390.

[63] Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue," 24-25.

there are also parts for piano and organ, as well as interludes which call for individual members of various orchestras to play simultaneously.[64]

Although the music does not evoke a specific Australian place or subject, the Sixth Symphony certainly captures the concept of "brashness" that Williamson associated with Australians and Australian life.[65] In addition, each section of the score bears a title referring to the city for which it was written, as well as an inscription from the text of the Roman Catholic Mass.[66] The opening section of the symphony's score, for instance, carries the title "Melbourne – Introit, Kyrie and Gloria."[67] Although perhaps seeming out of place in a symphonic work, Williamson frequently ascribed religious titles to non-liturgical works[68] and in this instance, he viewed his Symphony No. 6 not only as a "Liturgy of Homage to the Australian Broadcasting Commission" but also as "an act of prayer and devotion and homage to Australia."[69]

In addition to using religious titles in the symphony, Williamson employed one of the oldest structural devices in Western music history, itself at times associated with sacred music, the cantus firmus (meaning "fixed song").[70] Williamson's cantus firmus is a direct

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[64] Laurie Strachan, "Mixing Our Musical History." The orchestras are heard in the following order: Melbourne, Tasmanian, West Australian, Adelaide, Queensland, Sinfonia, Queensland, Adelaide, West Australian, Tasmanian, Sydney, with linking sections interspersed. Phillip Stametz, "From the ABC's Seven Orchestras . . . Malcolm Williamson's 'Sixth' Symphony," *24 Hours* (September 1986): 13. In one of the interlude the flutes and tuba from the Queensland Symphony Orchestra play with the strings of Western Australia, with the composer playing the piano in Sydney and the Sydney Opera House organ, as well as layer upon layer of percussion, played by Richard Mills, who was at that time playing with the Brisbane Symphony Orchestra. Laurie Strachan, "Mixing Our Musical History."

[65] Other passages of the Sixth Symphony remind the listener that Stravinsky and Messiaen were formative influences on Williamson, as they evoke the soundworlds of both the *Rite of Spring* and the *Turangalîla Symphony*, particularly towards the conclusion of the work. Paul Conway, "Malcolm Williamson – A 70th Birthday Tribute."

[66] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 2 July 2007.

[67] Malcolm Williamson, *Symphony No. 6*, Part I (Hertfordshire: Campion Press, 1982).

[68] Other non-liturgical works that carry religious titles or subtitles include Symphony No. 1 ("Elevamini," 1956-57), *Santiago de Espada* (1957, overture for orchestra), Symphony No. 2 ("Pilgrim på havet," 1968) and Symphony No. 5 ("Aquerò," 1980), to name but a few.

[69] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 391.

[70] Roger Covell, "The Middle Ages Offers Up a Salute to the ABC." According to Simon Campion, a wordless Latin Roman Canon for the consecration makes an appearance in the rhythm of the section after the

quotation from another work with religious connotations; Debussy's incidental music for the mystery play *Martyrdom of St Sebastian* (1911).[71] As its title suggests, this play tells the story of Saint Sebastian, the Captain of the Roman Praetorian Guards who was ordered by Emperor Diocletian to be executed by his own fellow archers after it was discovered that he was a Christian.[72] This musical borrowing no doubt held particular significance for Williamson not only because of his own Christian beliefs, but because of the fact that he too felt as though he had been betrayed and persecuted by his fellow countrymen after he had expressed his controversial views on a range of topics publicly.

The theme borrowed from *Martyrdom of St Sebastian* is heard a number of times in the symphony,[73] carrying the religious associations of Debussy's work with it and also providing unity to the symphony as a whole. The use of a cantus firmus to create a structure for the symphony impressed respected music critic Roger Covell, who described the idea as "brilliant,"[74] and it was particularly important considering the large size and scope of the work. Not only is it a long symphony, but due to it being written for seven different orchestras, the work also calls for enormous orchestral forces, including four flutes, piccolo, four oboes, cor anglais, four clarinets, bass clarinet, four bassoons, double bassoon, six horns, four trumpets, four trombones, two tubas, timpani, six percussion players, harp, piano, organ and strings.[75] In addition, the symphony was written in many different places, the completed score telling of work undertaken in New York, Banff, Sydney, Hobart, Paris, Banbury, Melbourne, Angoulême, Villefranche, London and

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Sanctus-hosanna and Benedictus-hosanna parts of the Mass. Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 14 January 2010.

[71] Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 389.

[72] Miraculously, Saint Sebastian survived the attempted execution by arrow fire, only to be sentenced to death again a short time later, after he had denounced the Emperor for his cruelty to the Christians.

[73] Roger Covell, "The Middle Ages Offers Up a Salute to the ABC."

[74] Roger Covell, "The Middle Ages Offers Up a Salute to the ABC."

[75] Paul Conway, "Malcolm Williamson – A 70th Birthday Tribute."

Canberra, which could easily have resulted in rather disjointed and directionless music, had it not contained a firm underlying structure.[76]

The Sixth Symphony was also recorded in a rather piecemeal fashion. The seven orchestras involved in the project were recorded separately in their home cities playing their assigned section or sections of the work, and after all the individual recordings had been made, the tapes were taken to Sydney and mixed to form one complete recording.[77] Williamson travelled between each capital city with conductor Paul McDermott and radio and television recording technicians to be present at each recording session and on occasion he was still placing the finishing touches on the manuscript at the last minute, literally whilst in the taxi on the way to a recording venue.[78]

Perhaps not surprisingly, the assembling of the sections of the symphony was a lengthy process and there were many unexpected delays to rehearsal and recording schedules, as well as to the mixing of the final tape.[79] Many of these delays were beyond Williamson's control, such as the death of the conductor Paul McDermott on the day that he was to have heard the final version of the complete recording.[80] Other delays were the direct result of Williamson's own behaviour, such as his very public involvement in the protest over the

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[76] Malcolm Williamson, *Symphony No. 6* (Hertfordshire: Campion Press, 1982). Williamson's astonishing memory also helped to ensure that the work did not lack continuity. The conductor Paul McDermott recalled that at one stage a couple of pages of the full score went missing and Williamson was required to write them out again from memory. Some time later when the original pages were found, McDermott was impressed to discover that the pages Williamson had re-written were note-perfect, absolutely identical, to the original. Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 389.

[77] Laurie Strachan, "Mixing Our Musical History."

[78] Williamson quoted in Matthew Ricketson, "Williamson's Suitcase Symphony," *The Age* (Melbourne), 5 July 1982, 6.

[79] According to Williamson, many of the delays were caused by technical issues which needed to be addressed before the music could be heard, as he stated in an interview given in August 1968, just prior to the first broadcast of the Sixth Symphony: "Much technical work of a highly sophisticated nature was required where, for example, the full power of the Sydney Symphony orchestra, including the organ, had been recorded in the Opera House, and was juxtaposed with a chamber-music-like section using half the Tasmanian Symphony Orchestra recorded in the Hobart Odeon Cinema. The acoustic balance had to be achieved by technical means to prevent, or at least minimise, the dislocation of resonant values as the sound moved from one venue to another . . . ." Malcolm Williamson, 19 August 1986, quoted in Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 392.

[80] Roger Covell, "The Middle Ages Offers Up a Salute to the ABC."

building of the Franklin River dam in Tasmania in 1983, which saw him refuse to grant permission for the sections of the symphony played by the Tasmanian Symphony Orchestra to be broadcast unless the ABC joined him in his stand against what he viewed as an act of vandalism against Tasmania's natural environment.[81] He even threatened to withdraw the work completely unless the sections of the symphony played by the TSO were re-recorded by musicians from the other orchestras, not because of the quality of the TSO's playing, but because he did not feel like paying "homage" to Tasmania in the political climate of the time.[82]

After his tireless effort to write and record the symphony, it was a major sacrifice on his part to delay its broadcast and he used the media's interest in the story to justify his decision and project his political views (and simultaneously, his Australian identity) to the public, stating, "it is a very painful decision to have to make [to put the broadcast of the symphony on hold] but it is one which, as a patriotic Australian, I must make."[83] Although he later withdrew his ultimatum when the plans to dam the Franklin River were quashed,[84] by this time it was all too late for the cause of the Sixth Symphony and its accompanying film. His strong public protest and the pressure he had placed on the ABC to support his stance had caused even more delays to the broadcast of the symphony and the ABC seemed to lose interest in the project. As a result, the music was never collated with the film footage, nor televised as once planned.[85] All that was left from months of planning, writing, recording and filming was the lone sound recording, which was not given a public airing until four years after the ABC's Golden Jubilee. Although representatives from the

[81] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Laurie Strachan, "Franklin Stand Threatens ABC," *The Australian*, 21 February 1983, 3.
[82] Evan Williams, "The Show That Won't Go On: Williamson Will Stick to His South-West Dam Protest," *The Mercury*, 2 March 1983, 17. Laurie Strachan, "Franklin Stand Threatens ABC."
[83] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Laurie Strachan, "Franklin Stand Threatens ABC."
[84] Laurie Strachan, "Dam Pledge Opens Way for ABC Broadcast," *The Australian* (n.d., March 1983), 6; available from National Library of Australia, Malcolm Williamson clipping folder.
[85] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 2 July 2007.

ABC did not respond to Williamson's threat or offer comment on the Franklin River dam issue,[86] it seems they were not impressed by the composer's behaviour because they did not commission any more works from him after the Sixth Symphony, bringing to an end what had been a fairly equitable and productive relationship until that time.[87]

The recording of the Sixth Symphony was first broadcast on ABC FM Radio on 29 September 1986.[88] The work was well-received, with critics variously describing it as an "epic . . . one of the most ambitious and complex projects in the history of Australian broadcasting,"[89] and an "Australian musical journey . . . a liturgical as well as a geographical odyssey."[90] Even Roger Covell, who did not always review Williamson's works favourably, described the work as the world's first "transcontinental symphony," concluding "the achievement, against all the odds, is impressive."[91] Williamson was also pleased with the final version of the sound recording, stating at the time of the first broadcast, "I'm absolutely delighted with the standard of performance . . . the playing is consistently fine, from the Sydney and Melbourne orchestras to the Sinfonia, and I feel the way we were able to put it together technically was a triumph as well."[92] In fact, he admitted to the producer and coordinator of the project, John Widdicombe, that he considered the Sixth Symphony to be his finest work and that he was "deeply moved," not only by the work and its recording, but by the completion of what had been a long-cherished project.[93] Yet despite his approval of the final recording, Williamson's personal letters from the period 1982 to 1986 reveal that he was also extremely disappointed and

[86] "ABC Going Ahead with Symphony," *The Mercury* (Hobart), 22 February 1983, 14.
[87] Williamson's close association with the ABC until 1983 had further strengthened his relationship with Australia. The ABC had commissioned him to compose four significant works prior to this time: Piano Concerto No. 3 (1962), *The Glitter Gang* (1973-74), *In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze* (1982) and Symphony No. 6 (1982). Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue."
[88] Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue."
[89] Phillip Stametz, "From the ABC's Seven Orchestras."
[90] Paul Conway, "Malcolm Williamson – A 70th Birthday Tribute."
[91] Roger Covell, "The Middle Ages Offers Up a Salute to the ABC."
[92] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Phillip Stametz, "From the ABC's Seven Orchestras."
[93] John Widdicombe quoted in Phillip Stametz, "From the ABC's Seven Orchestras."

bitter that the tapes had sat on the ABC's shelves awaiting editing for so long and that the ABC had no plans to finalise the film footage for television.[94]

He was perhaps all the more frustrated by these delays because the Sixth Symphony was one of the most substantial works he had ever composed and it was also one of the few large-scale tributes he had planned for Australia, and yet it did not seem to have the big impact on his homeland that he had once hoped it might. Moreover, because of its multi-orchestra format, the symphony was unlikely to ever receive a live performance, although on one occasion Williamson spoke of his plans to write a version that could be performed live by a single orchestra.[95] Unfortunately, this version never materialised and the work has only ever been heard in its original Australian recording.

In many ways, however, the Sixth Symphony had already fulfilled its purpose. The main impetus behind its composition had been to showcase and record the collective skills of Australia's orchestral musicians, as the composer explained in an interview held at the time of recording the symphony:

> The main thing for the moment is to show off Australian orchestras. It's very difficult music indeed for everybody, very complex. It's an attempt to put on record the excellence of the orchestral musicians of Australia. It's also a personal statement of belief in their quality and homage to the ABC, saying that the nation should own all its orchestras.[96]

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[94] For example, in a letter that Williamson wrote to his mother, Bessie, in July 1984, he stated, "My symphony No.6 lies unedited in Sydney. It was finished (the composition, that is) in August 1982. When it finally gets edited, if it does, someone will say that I was late finishing writing it." Malcolm Williamson, Hertfordshire, to Bessie Williamson, Australia, 14 July 1984, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson. More than a year later, he wrote to his mother again, "That enormous symphony lies on the ABC shelves awaiting editing . . . I stand to be blamed, and wrongly. I delivered the score in 1982 as arranged . . . I do get depressed about the loss, for the moment at least, of this gigantic work." Malcolm Williamson, Hertfordshire, to Bessie Williamson, Australia, 5 November 1985, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson. Williamson later tried to put pressure on the ABC to complete the film version for television. Malcolm Williamson, Hertfordshire, to Bessie Williamson, Australia, 11 March 1987, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson.

[95] Laurie Strachan, "Mixing Our Musical History."

[96] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Laurie Strachan, "Mixing Our Musical History."

In effect, the complete recording of the Sixth Symphony by the seven ABC orchestras exemplified exactly what Williamson intended for the work; it promoted the skills of all the Australian orchestras and demonstrated that the smaller orchestras of Brisbane, Hobart, Adelaide and Perth, as well as the ABC Sinfonia, were perfectly capable of matching the level of excellence executed by the larger orchestras of Sydney and Melbourne. Although the work may not have had the significant and long-lasting impact that the composer had once envisaged, the whole concept of a "transcontinental" symphony was completely novel and what is more, it had been entirely Williamson's idea.[97] He had created a work for each of the ABC orchestras to play and for all Australians to enjoy and take pride in; making it a liturgy of homage not just to the ABC, but also to Australians and Australia in general, as the composer once declared.[98] In addition, Williamson created another link between his music and Australia by dedicating the symphony to a long list of significant figures who had contributed to Australia's cultural life in various ways including, among others, Bernard Heinze, John Hopkins, Paul McDermott, Leonie Kramer, Manning Clark, Werner Baer, Vančo Čavdarski, Harold Holt, Gough Whitlam, Talbot Duckmanton, Charles Mackerras, Eileen Joyce, H.C. Coombs, David Nettheim, Richard Downing, Eugene Goossens, Joseph Post and Frank Hutchens.[99]

Despite the tensions that had emerged between Williamson and the ABC during the years between 1982 and 1986, Williamson remained optimistic towards Australia and continued to project an Australian identity through his words and music. Even in his protest over the damming of the Franklin River, he had projected a national identity fervently. He had reason to remain optimistic about the future of his relationship with Australia because he already had plans in place to write a number of other works for Australia in the years

[97] Williamson quoted in Matthew Ricketson, "Williamson's Suitcase Symphony."
[98] Roger Covell, "The Middle Ages Offers Up a Salute to the ABC."
[99] Malcolm Williamson, *Symphony No. 6*, Part XI.

leading up to the Bicentenary in 1988, as he revealed in a media interview held on the cusp of completing the recordings of the Sixth Symphony in 1982:

> When Percy [Grainger] was fifty he was overseas, but at fifty I am being inundated with offers of work here in Australia . . . . There is great cause to be optimistic about the arts in Australia to see this kind of change in the last thirty years.[100]

During the same interview he also announced that he hoped to spend at least half of each year living and working in Australia from that time onwards, adding that he had been obliged to seek permission from the Queen for such prolonged visits.[101] With his focus firmly on Australia, it is no surprise that the next symphony Williamson composed, Symphony No. 7, was written not only for performance in Australia, but with a programme inspired by Australian subjects and the Australian way of life.

Williamson composed the Symphony No. 7 for string orchestra in 1984, just two years after completing the score for the Sixth Symphony. It fulfilled a commission from Alexandra Cameron, the doyenne of the youth ensemble Chamber Strings of Melbourne, to celebrate the Australian state of Victoria's sesquicentenary of 1984-85.[102] Considering it was written for performance by a youth ensemble, and a string orchestra at that, it is not surprising to note that the Seventh Symphony is much smaller in size and scope than its predecessor, the Sixth Symphony. The Chamber Strings of Melbourne and its conductor and musical director Christopher Martin gave the first complete performance of the Seventh Symphony in Melbourne on 12 August 1985.[103] The twenty-minute work is cast in four movements, each designed to commemorate the history of European civilisation in

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[100] Williamson quoted in Matthew Ricketson, "Williamson's Suitcase Symphony."
[101] Williamson quoted in Matthew Ricketson, "Williamson's Suitcase Symphony."
[102] Malcolm Williamson, "Symphony No. 7 for String Orchestra," full score (final proof) (Hertfordshire: Campion Press, 1984). Financial assistance was also provided by the Victorian Ministry for the Arts. The Chamber Strings of Melbourne consists of musicians aged between 16 and 23 years of age.
[103] The performance took place at Irving Hall, Lauriston Girls' School, in Melbourne. The Seventh Symphony has been recorded by the Brunel Ensemble under Christopher Austin, Cala CACD 77005.

Victoria[104] and to celebrate, in particular, the contribution of migrant communities to Victoria's rich cultural tapestry.

The opening movement, *Andante-Allegro vivo-Andante*, draws on the history and landscape of "outback" Victoria to create a strong nexus between the symphony and the Australian state for which it was composed. When writing this movement, Williamson took inspiration from the story of the infamous nineteenth-century Victorian bushranger Ned Kelly.[105] The Australian bush-ranger theme was one that Williamson had explored several years earlier in his cassation *The Glitter Gang* and there are many possible reasons as to why it attracted him. Ned Kelly, like many of the characters in Williamson's stage works, was a non-conformist and an outsider living on the fringes of society. Williamson's preoccupation with such solitary figures, as discussed in Chapter 3, suggests that he viewed himself as something of an "outsider" from mainstream society, and so he may have felt an affinity with Kelly and his followers for that reason. He may also have been drawn to the story of Ned Kelly because like the bushranger, Williamson had Irish ancestors, and he was also well-aware of the large number of Irish immigrants living in Australia, and in Melbourne in particular.[106] In addition, Williamson would have known that the story of Ned Kelly was very popular with Australian audiences and would have been well-aware of the success of the series of paintings on the subject by his friend,

[104] Malcolm Williamson, "Composer Malcolm Williamson: A Conversation with Bruce Duffie," interview by Bruce Duffie, transcript, 18 October 1996, available from www.kcstudio/williamson2.html; Internet; accessed 7 June 2007.
[105] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 21 July 2008.
[106] In an interview held in 1996, he stated, "There are an enormous number of Irish people [living in Melbourne] . . . . My ancestor was amongst [those] that came to Australia . . . and had to survive in the most inclement possible climate. Now this is relevant to my Seventh Symphony . . . Ned Kelly and his gang were a great nineteenth-century Irish mob. He was hanged in his twenties, and his colleagues were shot by the Protestant police. The trial was invalid; nonetheless he was hanged . . . I remember Ned Kelly very much in [the Seventh Symphony]." Malcolm Williamson, "Composer Malcolm Williamson: A Conversation with Bruce Duffie."

Sidney Nolan, with whom he had worked on *The Display* twenty years earlier, a ballet that, incidentally, also focuses on a solitary "outsider" character.[107]

For the first movement of his Seventh Symphony, Williamson drew on the story of Ned Kelly as portrayed in the writings of the Australian historian Manning Clark (1915-1991).[108] Williamson had met Clark in person during his visits to the Australian National University in Canberra in the 1970s and early 1980s to undertake creative arts fellowships.[109] At the time of Williamson's 1981 visit, Clark was just about to publish the fifth, penultimate volume of *A History of Australia* and he took the initiative of introducing Williamson to his recently-published paper, *The Quest for an Australian Identity* (1980).[110] Williamson and Clark formed a strong friendship and no doubt shared discussions about Williamson's ideas for future projects based on Clark's writings about Australia and its people. According to Simon Campion, Clark's description of the adventures of the Kelly Gang in the fourth volume of *A History of Australia* (1978) became "part and parcel of the hinterland of Malcolm's vision of the [first movement of the Seventh Symphony]."[111] Clark had a strong personal connection to Victoria, having spent the majority of his childhood, adolescence and early academic career living in various parts of the state, and therefore it was entirely appropriate that Williamson found inspiration in Clark's account

[107] Nolan's first series of Ned Kelly paintings emerged in 1945 and the subject preoccupied him for thirty-five years; he painted his final series of works on the subject in 1980.
[108] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 21 July 2008.
[109] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, telephone conversation, 6 August 2007. Clark had been appointed to the new post of Professor of Australian History at the ANU in 1972, and after his retirement in the mid-1970s, he became Emeritus Professor. Clark and his wife Dymphna attended some of the lectures that Williamson gave at the ANU and it was not long before all three were on close terms. Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, telephone conversation, 6 August 2007.
[110] Malcolm Williamson, Elizabeth Bay NSW, to Bessie Williamson, Australia, 31 May 1982, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson. The fifth volume of *A History of Australia* was released in October 1981. Clark wrote the six volumes of *A History of Australia* between 1962 and 1987. *The Quest for an Australian Identity* originated as a paper delivered by Clark at the University of Queensland on 6 August 1979 and was published by the University of Queensland Press during the following year.
[111] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 21 July 2008.

of Victorian history and evocative descriptions of the region's landscape for his uniquely "Victorian" symphony.[112]

Inspired by Clark's vivid written imagery, Williamson fashioned a seven-minute first movement which captures the free, anti-authoritarian spirit of the Kelly gang and simultaneously depicts the landscape of the Glenrowan region of Victoria, known locally as "Kelly Country."[113] The movement opens with a quiet, atmospheric passage which evokes the scene of dawn at Glenrowan,[114] as described by Clark in *A History of Australia*:

> In the half light before that red disc appeared again on the eastern horizon as a sign of another cold frosty day, a tall figure, encased in armour, came out of the mists and wisps of frosty air whirling round the tree-trunks . . . some thought it was a madman or a lunatic, or a ghost; some thought it was the devil, the whole atmosphere having stimulated in friend and foe alike a "superstitious awe."[115]

A similar scene to that described above was also captured by Sidney Nolan in his masterpieces *Riverbend I* (1964-65) and *Riverbend II* (1965-66), which are mentioned in Chapter 5 for their connections to the backdrop Nolan created for the ballet *The Display*. Clark and Williamson would have been familiar with these successful paintings and Nolan's portrayal of Ned Kelly appearing out of the mist between the tree-trunks, as

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[112] Charles Manning Hope Clark was the son of a Reverend and although he was born in Sydney, his childhood was also spent in Melbourne, Phillip Island and Belgrave. Clark attended Melbourne Church of England Grammar School and the University of Melbourne. He remained in Melbourne until 1938, when his scholastic achievements earned him a scholarship to study at Oxford. He returned to Australian in 1940 and took up an academic position at the University of Melbourne in 1944 before accepting the position of Professor of History at Canberra University College in 1949. Stephen Holt, *A Short History of Manning Clark* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1999), 1, 6, 13, 27-28.

[113] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 21 July 2008. The Kelly Gang consisted of Edward "Ned" Kelly and his younger brother Dan Kelly, both notorious cattle and horse thieves from a remote, inaccessible district north of Melbourne; Steve Hart, a daring horseman and horse-stealer from Ireland; and Joe Byrne, a poor boy from the Australian bush. The public response to Ned Kelly was mixed. Some onlookers viewed him as a "wild ass of a man, snarling, roaring and frothing like a ferocious beast," while others believed he was a "people's hero, a brave man, a daring horseman, a champion rifle shot, and a friend of the poor," and he was portrayed as such in the bush songs. Charles Manning Hope Clark, *A History of Australia IV: The Earth Abideth For Ever 1851-1888* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1978), 325-27, 332. Glenrowan is located between Benalla and Wangaratta, approximately 220km north-west of Melbourne. The town is referred to as the heart of "Kelly Country" because it was the place where Ned Kelly was arrested after attempting to massacre hundreds of police officers.

[114] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 21 July 2008.

[115] Charles Manning Hope Clark, *A History of Australia IV*, 333.

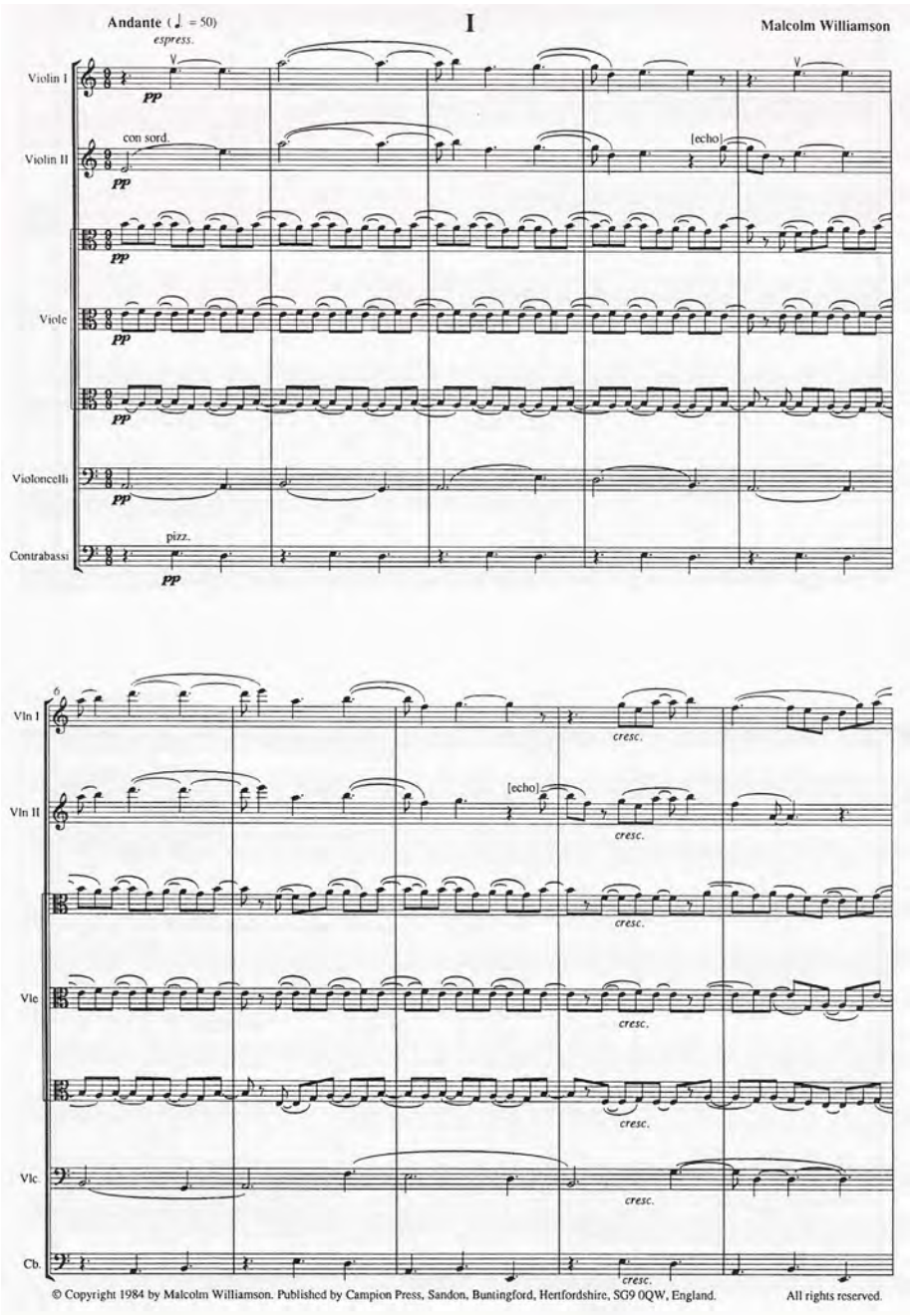
exemplified in Figure 6.11, may well have inspired both Clark and Williamson's artistic visions of the subject.

Figure 6.11 Sidney Nolan, *Riverbend II* (1965-66), first of nine panels, oil on canvas, 152.5 x 121.9 cm.[116]

Williamson employed a variety of musical devices to depict this eerie scene in the opening of the Symphony. The expressive main melody written for the violins is in the key of A minor and is characterised by the interval of a fourth, which appears in both perfect and augmented forms (see Figure 6.12).

[116] Barry Pearce, *Sidney Nolan: 1917-1992* (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 2007), 197.

Figure 6.12 Williamson, Symphony No. 7, first movement, bb. 1-10.



Williamson claimed that this melody originated from "fragments noted in Benalla and Glenrowan, with echoes of the Kelly family;"[117] however, there is little evidence to suggest that it is derived from folk song (including Irish folk melodies) or other forms of music found in the Glenrowan region of Victoria. Instead, it is probable that what Williamson

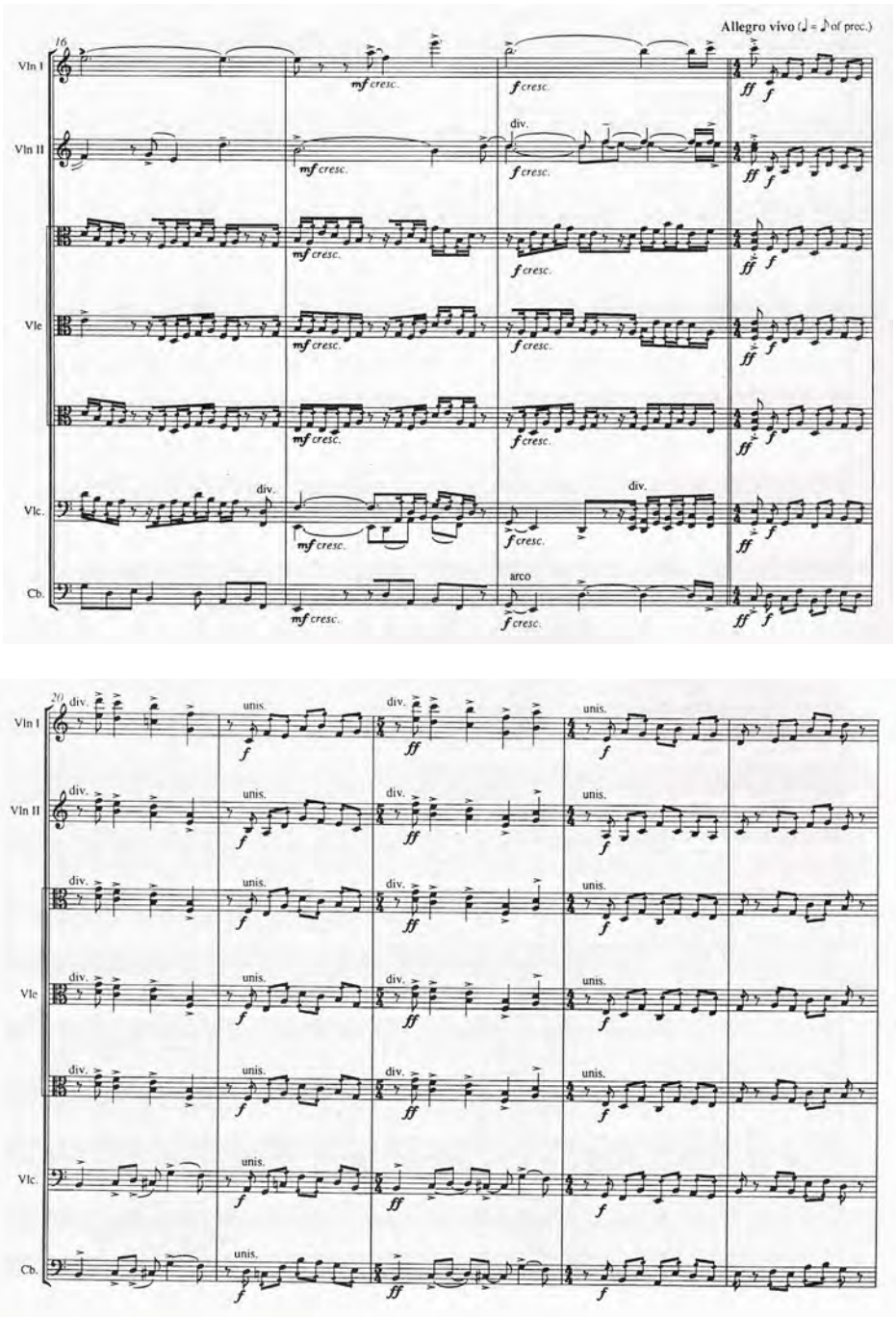
[117] Malcolm Williamson quoted in liner notes to *Red Leaves*, Brunel Ensemble, Cala Records CACD 77005, 1996.

meant by this statement is that he notated parts of the melody whilst visiting the so-called "Kelly Country" in person sometime previously. Irrespective of its origin, the melody and its "echo," which is played by the muted second violins, are effective in depicting the apparition-like appearance of Ned Kelly in the half-light of dawn and the sense of mystery, myth and awe that surrounds his legend. The accompaniment provided by the other string instruments is also in deft alliance to the mood that Williamson intended to create. For example, the slurred, rocking figures heard in the viola parts successfully evoke the "wisps of frosty air whirling round the tree-trunks," as described by Clark. The accompanying parts also create tension harmonically by forming dissonant intervals with the main melody, such as sevenths, seconds and the tritone. The dissonance is intensified through the use of suspensions in the violin and viola parts, which momentarily create discord with the 'cello and bass lines and add to the tense, haunting atmosphere.

This sombre passage is interrupted by a spirited *Allegro vivo* section, which begins in the relative major key, C major, and vividly depicts, in Simon Campion's words, "the Kelly Gang riding high, out in the bush full of dash and derring-do."[118] The music is loud, energetic and at times dissonant, characterised by fast tremolo quaver motives which are based around the interval of a perfect fourth, like the opening theme of the movement (see Figure 6.13). The tremolo quaver passages are interrupted by accented and syncopated crotchet chords which are constructed of five-note clusters that are divided amongst the parts, creating a series of parallel fourths. These dissonant chords, combined with the tremolo quaver motives, give the passage a restless quality and a sense of urgency.

[118] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 21 July 2008.

Figure 6.13 Williamson, Symphony No. 7, first movement, bb. 16-24.



Simon Campion gave insight into the inspiration behind the *Allegro vivo* section in the liner notes that he provided for the recording of the Seventh Symphony by the Brunel Ensemble on the disc *Red Leaves*, which was issued by Cala Records in 1996:

> The Allegro depicts the Kelly gang riding in the bush, not here the vicious gang of bushrangers: these are young Utopians, spending "many a happy day fearless free

and bold," the embodiment of that zest for life that established Ned Kelly as an Australian folk hero.[119]

Campion's description has many parallels to Manning Clark's version of the life and times of Ned Kelly in *A History of Australia*. According to Clark, Kelly was a "latter-day Robin Hood" who had devised a scheme for a society in the northeast of Victoria for those who wished to spend "many a happy day fearless free and bold," away from the police, railways, telegraphs and all those people who had told them how to live.[120] From their hiding place in the Warby Ranges, the Kelly gang rode into country towns on horseback in the broad daylight to speak to citizens about their plans for a new Utopia and threaten to send a "sweet good-bye" to men swollen with pride and arrogance on account of their material progress. Once they had created a sufficient stir, they would gallop off, cantering "through the stringy-bark country" on the way back to their hiding place.[121] This scene, riding through the stringy-bark country, is what Williamson attempted to depict musically in the *Allegro vivo* section of the symphony's first movement.[122] The music heard in this section captures the sense of urgency and desperation that the Kelly gang undoubtedly felt upon their escape from civilisation to live a life of freedom in the Victorian bush.

Following the lively central section, the first movement draws to a close with a return of the eerie music heard in the opening *Andante* section, this time in the key of C minor. The juxtaposition of the fast, high-spirited section of music with the eerie, atmospheric passages that frame it highlights the strong contrasts of opinion and great divide in the public perception of Ned Kelly that existed at the time. For many enduring hardship,

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[119] Simon Campion, liner notes to *Red Leaves*.
[120] Ned Kelly and his brother Dan had developed a hatred of the police and all agents of law and order after members of their family had been, in their view, unfairly persecuted after several altercations with police officers over alleged crimes of stealing and attempted murder. In desperation, Kelly and his gang left civilisation behind and flocked "to the Warby Ranges in a search for a life where a man could roam the bush as free as an eagle in the sky." Charles Manning Hope Clark, *A History of Australia IV*, 326-32.
[121] Charles Manning Hope Clark, *A History of Australia IV*, 325-32.
[122] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 21 July 2008.

including bush folk, migrant families and those living on the fringes of society, Kelly was very much a hero and they spoke of him with great pride and affection. He was commonly referred to by these people as "our Ned," a "courageous lovable bush larrikin."[123] Kelly also considered himself to be an innocent person who was fighting to avenge a great wrong and he used this excuse to justify his violent feelings and behaviour. In contrast, most townspeople, members of bourgeois society and enforcers of law and order saw him as a cold-blooded wretched murderer and a lunatic who deserved his fate.[124]

The opening movement of Williamson's Seventh Symphony provides both sides of the Ned Kelly's story as described in Manning Clark's *A History of Australia.* Kelly may have been a young Utopian, with a zest for life and a dream to spend "many a happy day fearless free and bold," as suggested in the *Allegro vivo* section; however, to friends and foe alike, he was an awe-inspiring enigma and many did not know whether to respond to him with wonder or fear. Over time, his story has evolved to reach legendary status and he has become a figure through whom many Australians have been able to discover a sense of national identity and pride.[125] For Williamson and many other Australian creative artists, the story of Ned Kelly has also proved to be the perfect subject through which they have been able to express their national identity publicly, at both local and international levels.

In contrast, the lively second movement of the Seventh Symphony, marked *Allegro molto*, was written to celebrate the large Macedonian community of Victoria, which has been

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[123] Charles Manning Hope Clark, *A History of Australia IV*, 330.
[124] Charles Manning Hope Clark, *A History of Australia IV*, 325-32.
[125] Charles Manning Hope Clark, *A History of Australia IV*, 336-37. As Joel Crotty has observed: "Unlike the heroism of the Diggers or the larrikinism of The Bloke, Kelly, a thief and murderer, was neither universally respected nor admired, yet his bold defiance of the law and his advocacy on behalf of the poor attracted the sympathy of many Australians . . . . Without entering into a debate on morality, Kelly's personal characteristics reflected an idolised Australian 'type' – a hero and Aussie battler . . . images [that] became potent symbols for nationalists . . ." Joel Crotty, "Choreographic Music in Australia, 1913-1964: From Foreign Reliance to an Independent Australian Stance," PhD dissertation, Monash University, June 1999, 206-7.

steadily increasing in size since the late 1960s.[126] By 1984, when Williamson composed the Seventh Symphony, the Macedonian community had established several cultural organisations in Victoria, including a Macedonian Centre (1981) and the Federation of Macedonian Associations in Victoria (1984), both of which had helped to increase public awareness of their presence in Victorian society.[127] In the second movement of the Seventh Symphony, Williamson created a nexus to the Macedonian community of Victoria by evoking elements of Macedonian folkloric dance music.[128] The score contains many musical features that are characteristic of Macedonian traditional music, including rhythmic diversity and complexity (including asymmetrical rhythms and irregular subdivisions), regular changes of metre, an underlying pulse, an ability to evoke the dance and a melody which tends to move in conjunct motion and generally within the range of a fourth or fifth.[129] Many of these features are evident in the opening theme of the second movement, which is in the key of C minor (see Figure 6.14). This movement features solo parts for violin, viola and 'cello and it is these solo parts that carry the main theme; a mostly stepwise, unison melody which encompasses the range of a diminished fifth initially (from A natural to E flat), over a rattling *col legno* accompaniment. Despite regular changes of metre (between 3/8, 4/8 and 5/8), there is an underlying pulse which helps to evoke the dance.

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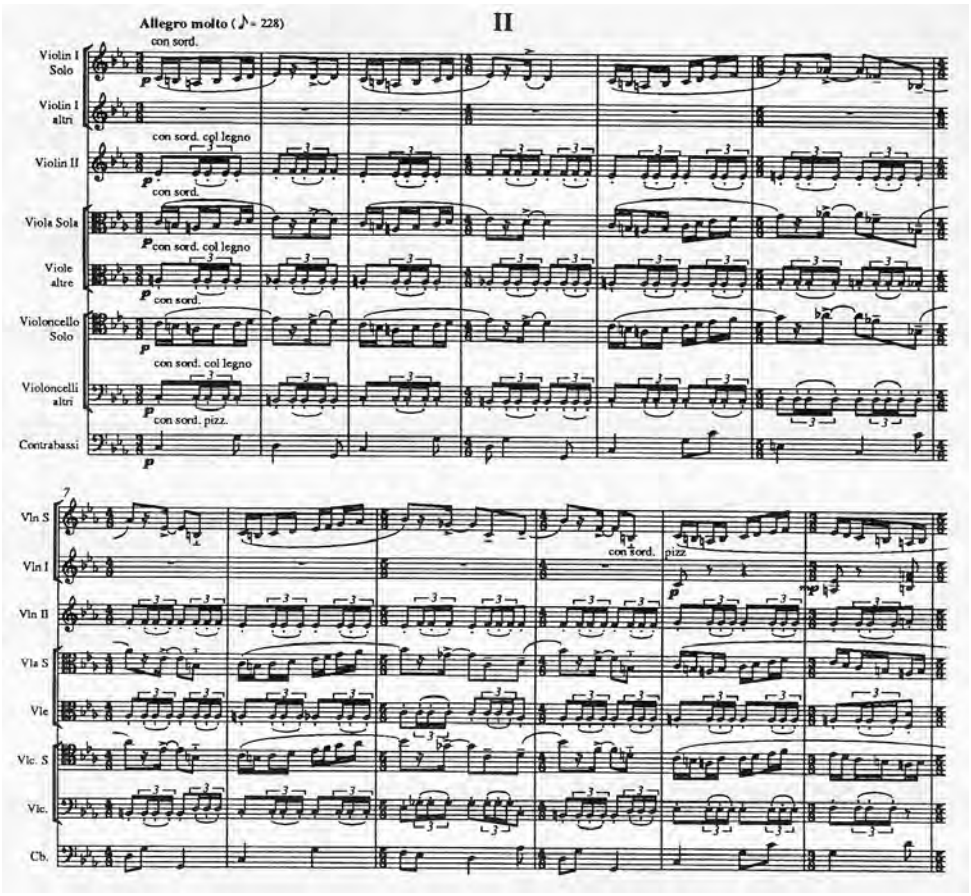
[126] The region known as Macedonia is divided between three states – Greece, Bulgaria and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia – and has had a long and complex political history. The discussion of Macedonian music in this chapter refers to the music from the territory now known as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). The history of Macedonians immigration to Victoria dates from the early twentieth century when "pechalbari" arrived with the intention of seeking gold to take back home and instead decided to settle and sponsor the immigration of their family members. Numbers of Macedonian immigrants in Victoria increased substantially in the late 1960s through to the 1970s, which was mainly due to the worsening economic situation in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, which was then part of the Yugoslav federation. "Origins: Immigrant Communities in Victoria, History of Immigration from Macedonia (FYROM)," *Museum Victoria*; available from http://museumvictoria.com.au/origins/history.aspx?pid=20&cat=none&cid=0; Internet; accessed 7 August 2008.

[127] The first Macedonian Orthodox Church that opened outside Macedonia was St. George, built in Fitzroy in 1959. By 2001, there were 19, 539 Macedonia-born Victorians. "Origins: Immigrant Communities in Victoria, History of Immigration from Macedonia (FYROM)."

[128] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 21 July 2008.

[129] Orhan Memed, "Macedonia," *Grove Music Online*; available from http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com; Internet, accessed 7 August 2008.

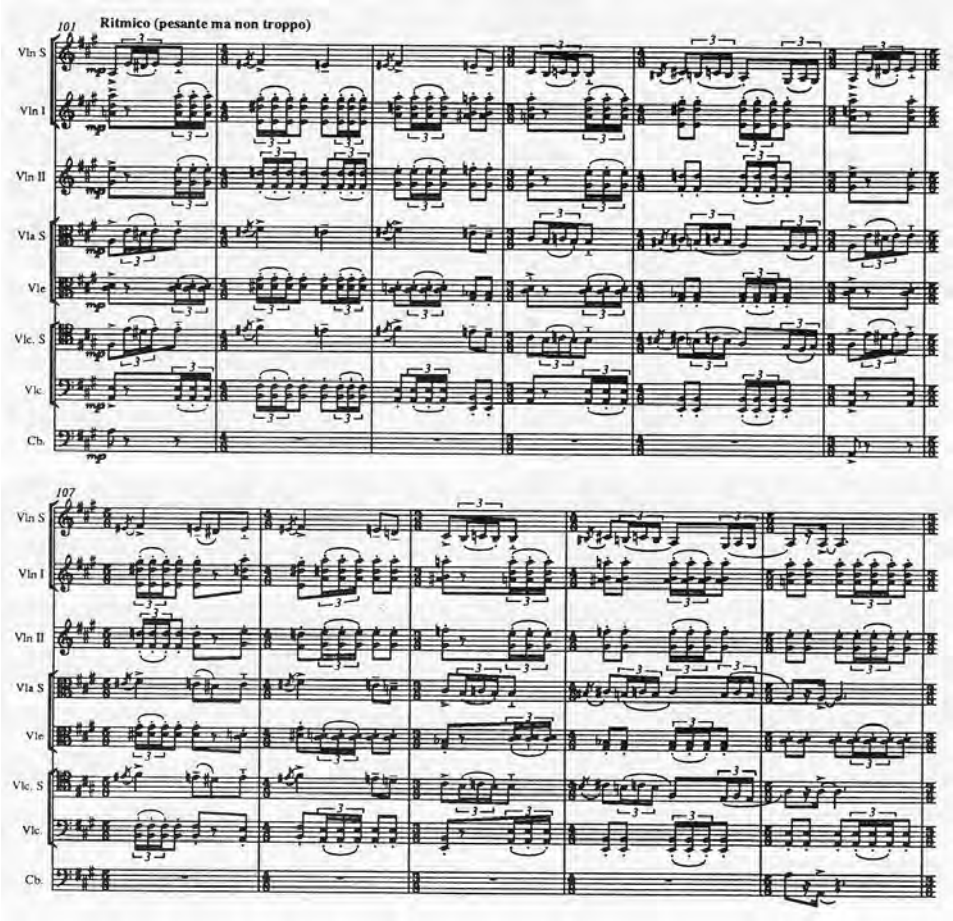
Figure 6.14 Williamson, Symphony No. 7, second movement, bb. 1-12.



A contrasting theme presented in the centre of the second movement also contains traits of traditional Macedonian dance music, including regular changes of metre and a strong emphasis on rhythmic pulse, indicated in this passage by the marking *Ritmico* (*pesante ma non troppo*)[130] (see Figure 6.15).

[130] This marking translates as "rhythmic, heavy or heavily, but not too much."

Figure 6.15 Williamson, Symphony No. 7, second movement, bb. 101-11.



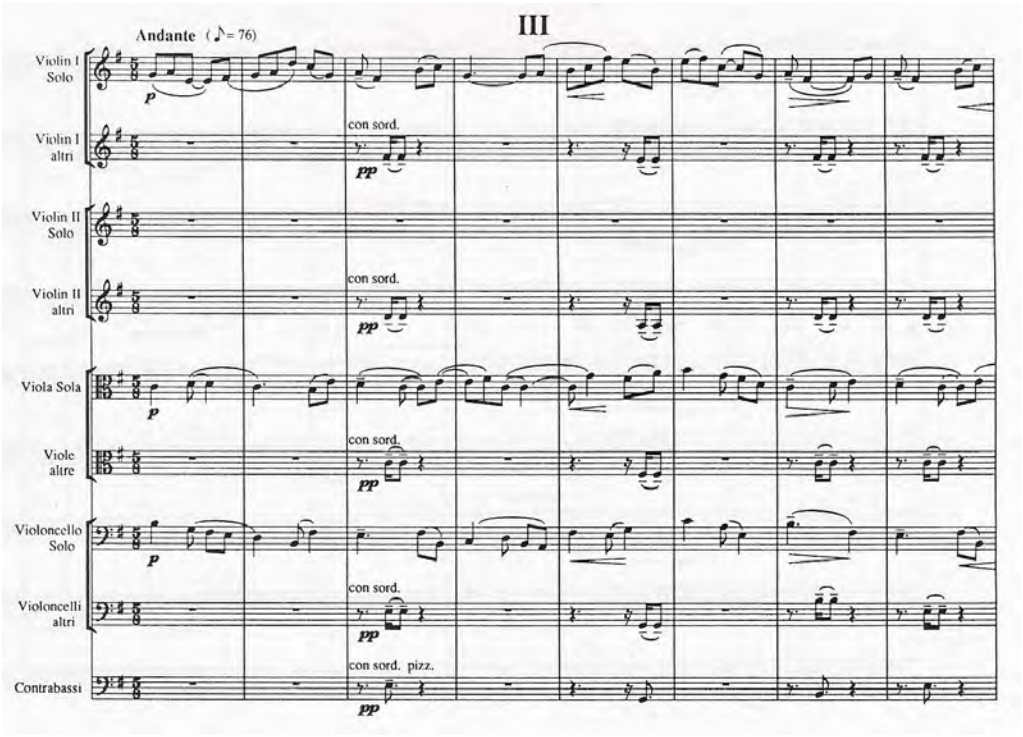
Combined, these features help to evoke, in Williamson's words, the "dances of the Macedonian Peninsula from which many Victorians have come" and celebrate "the unforeseen cross-pollination of the ethnic groups that has enriched Australian life . . . ."[131]

The inclusion of parts for soloists as well as tutti is also a feature of the third, penultimate movement, *Andante*. In this movement, however, the group of soloists also includes a second violin, which together with the first violin, viola and cello soloists, forms a string quartet to contrast against the texture of the larger string orchestra. The third movement also has a link to the first movement through its rediscovery of the solemn, expressive mood of the work's opening *Andante* section and in its recurrent use of the interval of a

[131] Malcolm Williamson quoted in liner notes to *Red Leaves*.

perfect fourth (see the solo Violin I and solo Viola parts in Figure 6.16). This movement, like the preceding two movements, also features regular changes of metre.[132]

Figure 6.16 Williamson, Symphony No. 7, third movement, bb. 1-8.



The third movement (and later the entire symphony) was dedicated to Dr Derek Goldfoot, the husband of the contralto Sybil Michelow, for whom Williamson later composed *Vocalise in G Major* (1985), *White Dawns* (1985) and *The Feast of Eurydice* (1986).[133] At the time that Williamson was working on the Seventh Symphony, Goldfoot was dying from a terminal illness, and so the composer wrote the third movement as a lament for his

[132] The movement gradually grows in intensity as it passes through a number of dynamic and key changes, before resolving to a quiet, tranquil conclusion in the key of G major, conveying a sense of peace.

[133] Simon Campion described Goldfoot as "a great and kindly Jewish doctor who was a great friend and who looked after many musicians, particularly singers." Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 21 July 2008. The *Vocalise in G Major* for mezzo-soprano and piano is dedicated to Sybil Michelow. *White Dawns* and *The Feast of Eurydice* were also written for Michelow, however, the latter is dedicated to Williamson's mother, Bessie. *White Dawns* is a twelve-minute song-cycle for low voice and piano based on four poems by Kosta Ratsin. *The Feast of Eurydice* is a thirty-five minute song-cycle for female voice, flute, percussion and piano on eight poems by Elaine Feinstein. For more details, see Appendix B.

dear friend.[134] It was also inspired by the Victorian landscape, as Williamson admitted in an interview conducted in 1985:

> In my mind, as the work shaped itself, were also memories of the Murray River, Albury, the Dandenong mountains, the tragedy and courage associated with the inevitable bushfires that have plagued the summers.[135]

These thoughts are translated through the warmth of expression and clarity of line and texture evident in the third movement, features that are reminiscent of the music of English composer Frank Bridge (1897-1941), who had once taught Williamson's friend and mentor, Benjamin Britten, and was known for his poetic evocations of pastoral subjects.[136] As the expressive "heart" of the Seventh Symphony,[137] the third movement can also be viewed as a portrayal of the nostalgia that Williamson felt for his homeland, as conveyed in the letters that he wrote to his mother during this period.[138]

In strong contrast to the sombre, nostalgic third movement, the fourth and final movement of the Seventh Symphony, *Allegro maestoso, ma non troppo*, is brief and optimistic in character. The movement is an orchestration, note-for-note, of a wedding march that Williamson composed for two of Simon Campion's friends, John and Ersie Burke.[139] John Burke, an Australian of Irish descent, and his wife Ersie, an American of Greek descent, were married in Melbourne in the mid-1970s and the day before the wedding, Williamson wrote an organ piece to be played as the couple walked down the aisle.[140] The unpublished "Untitled Wedding Piece for Organ" (1975) proved too difficult for either Williamson or

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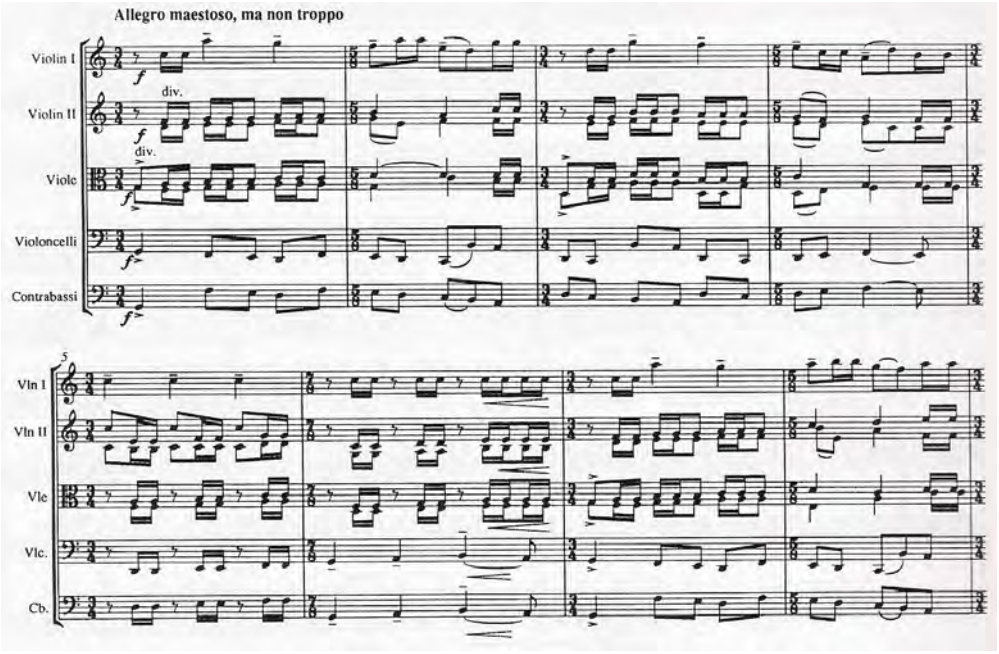
[134] Malcolm Williamson, "Composer Malcolm Williamson: A Conversation with Bruce Duffie."
[135] Williamson quoted in Harvey Mitchell, "Two New Works in String Offering," *The Australian*, 14 August 1985, 8. Simon Campion described the third movement as "the still turning centre of the rapidly moving world around it." Simon Campion, liner notes to *Red Leaves*.
[136] Anthony Payne, "Frank Bridge," *Grove Music Online*; available from http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com; Internet, accessed 7 August 2008.
[137] Liner notes to *Red Leaves*.
[138] Excerpts from some of these letters are provided in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.
[139] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 21 July 2008.
[140] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 21 July 2008.

Campion, both skilled organists, to play at the wedding as a solo piece and so they decided to perform it together as a duet.[141]

Considering that the organ piece was basically unplayable in its existing format, it is not surprising that Williamson embraced the opportunity to orchestrate it, especially when he was approached about writing a symphony for Victoria. Not only did the piece have a pre-existing connection to Victoria, because it had received its premiere in Melbourne, but it had also been written to mark the union of two Australians from different cultural backgrounds and therefore it can be viewed as a celebration of multiculturalism in its own right. In fact, it is apparent from an analysis of the score that this piece may have been used as a starting point for the creation of the whole symphony. The organ piece (and therefore the fourth movement of the symphony) shares many similarities with the first three movements of the symphony, including a heavy reliance on intervals of a fourth, as well as regular changes of time signature, alternating between 3/4, 5/8 and 7/8 time (see Figure 6.17).

[141] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 21 July 2008. Campion writes: "Malcolm wrote the piece the day before the wedding and we rehearsed it on the organ at Newman College Chapel. It was too difficult for either of us to manage, so we did it as a duet. Hilarity with me seated at the organ peddling away and managing the stops while Malcolm played the manuals with his arms around me on either side. It was clearly a case of upstaging the bride and groom as they came down the aisle. Everyone was richly entertained, whichever way they turned." Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 21 July 2008.

Figure 6.17 Williamson, Symphony No. 7, fourth movement, bb. 1-8.



It is likely, therefore, that the "Untitled Wedding Piece for Organ" and its multicultural connections provided inspiration for the composition of all four movements of the Seventh Symphony. The theme of multiculturalism, or in Simon Campion's words, "unity in diversity," pervades the symphony and is brought to a joyous conclusion in this final movement, suggesting hope for a unified, multicultural Australia.[142] This theme was an appropriate choice for this Victorian commission given that Melbourne is commonly considered Australia's "cultural capital."[143]

The Seventh Symphony is yet another example of Williamson writing in an inclusive idiom. He was given free rein to write anything he wanted for this work to commemorate 150 years of European civilisation in Victoria[144] and he chose to celebrate the various migrant populations of Melbourne, who had little in common with each other except that they had chosen to live in Australia. As an expatriate himself, Williamson undoubtedly

[142] Simon Campion, liner notes to *Red Leaves*.
[143] Malcolm Williamson, "Composer Malcolm Williamson: A Conversation with Bruce Duffie."
[144] Malcolm Williamson, "Composer Malcolm Williamson: A Conversation with Bruce Duffie."

felt empathy for these people and probably understood more than most the personal conflict between the need to integrate into the new society and the desire to maintain links to the mother country. His push for multiculturalism was perhaps driven by his personal desire to feel less isolated in society, and specifically, within Australian society. Greater inclusiveness also meant greater tolerance for lifestyle choices, including homosexuality, which was no doubt another factor that contributed to Williamson feeling as though he was an "outsider" in society. Whatever his intentions, the underlying message conveyed in the Seventh Symphony is inclusiveness and this even extends to its purpose as a work written for performance by a youth ensemble.

Although the work was written with a youth orchestra in mind, however, parts of the symphony proved too difficult for the Chamber Strings of Melbourne to play and much to Williamson's dismay, it was first performed incomplete in early January 1985 at Australia House in London, while the youth orchestra was on tour.[145] Unfortunately for Williamson, the critics were not kind and some even speculated that the omission of the challenging second movement had been due to the composer not completing the work on time.[146] Reviews following the first complete performance, given by the same ensemble a few

[145] Williamson wrote to his mother, Bessie: "They [the Chamber Strings of Melbourne] had the temerity to write ahead to Australia House to ask them to get the national critics, which they did. The youthful players turned up in London having failed to learn one of the movements of the work. I offered to go to London to coach them in the few remaining days before the concert, but the offer was declined as they were sight-seeing . . . . Three of the four movements were played, and very badly, and I was abused in *The Times* for being late with the music." Malcolm Williamson quoted in Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 403. On the same day, he also wrote to his sister, Diane, "Australia, the so-called land of the future, had better step on the gas if it is to compete with the lands of the present." Malcolm Williamson, Hertfordshire, to Diane Williamson, Australia, 11 January 1985, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson.

[146] One British critic reported, "The audience was given no explanation for the omission of the second movement of the seventh symphony of Malcolm Williamson, Master of the Queen's Musick, at its premiere on Tuesday. The conductor, Christopher Martin, did, however, stress that the work *had* been completed – unlike other works which Williamson has conspicuously failed to complete on time, most notably a jubilee symphony whose 1977 premiere before the Queen had to be cancelled." "Second Out," *Times Diary*, no author or date given, available from Weinberger Archive, London, accessed June 2006. Another British reporter described part of the work as being "coloured by that same awkward mixture of naive colonial awe and sophisticated romantic internationalism that recurs in Samuel Barber." Michael John White, "Australia House: Williamson Premiere," *The Guardian*, 10 January 1985.

months later in Australia, were not particularly favourable either. A critic from *The Australian*, for example, reported:

> There are rhapsodic passages, it is true, quite traditional in accent and rhythm, and one movement is unmistakably a sinuous dance of Greek provenance. The third movement – an andante – was obviously written in a mood of great affection towards a former teacher, and it explores most of the expressive capabilities of a 24-piece orchestra. What I felt, though, on this hearing, is that the piece lacks an inner core, a central focus.[147]

Although Williamson probably would have dismissed this negative assessment as typical of the Australian press, perhaps the wide cross-section of musical styles explored in the work gave critics the impression of music too "diverse" to be "unified." Or perhaps the main problem was not so much to do with the quality of the symphony, but with the fact that it was far too difficult for a youth orchestra to perform and the Chamber Strings of Melbourne simply did not give convincing performances of the work. The 1996 recording by the Brunel Ensemble,[148] on the other hand, is polished both technically and expressively and brings the composer's true gifts for melody-writing, motivic development and orchestration into focus. Written shortly after the Sixth Symphony, the Seventh Symphony shows Williamson continuing to display loyalty to Australia and projecting a distinctive national identity through music. The Seventh Symphony is arguably even more Australian than the Sixth, with its evocative explorations of Victoria's landscape, people and history coming together to form a unique tribute to Australia's "cultural capital," Melbourne.

Williamson composed a further two works for Australia in the mid-1980s, neither of which are based on Australian subjects but instead resulted from Australian commissions. The first of these was an organ work that was later arranged for orchestra as a cantata for mezzo, baritone, chorus and orchestra published under the title *A Pilgrim Liturgy*

[147] Harvey Mitchell, 8.
[148] *Red Leaves*, Brunel Ensemble, Cala Records CACD 77005, 1996.

(1984).[149] The unnamed organ work was commissioned by Reverend Dougan of St Andrew's College in Sydney.[150] The last "Australian" work Williamson composed during this period was *Lento for Strings* (1985), a short, simple and deeply moving tribute to the late Paul McDermott, the Australian conductor involved in the ABC recording of Williamson's Symphony No. 6.[151]

In total, Williamson composed a dozen works for Australia during the period 1970-1985. These works are in a wide range of genres and were composed for a variety of purposes: religious, symphonic, mini-opera, concertante, brass and ballet. Some are abstract works composed for a specific Australian commission or significant occasion, while others, such as *The Glitter Gang* and Symphony No. 7, have a uniquely Australian programme. Although Williamson did not compose any "Australian" works in the six years following his appointment as Master of the Queen's Music, the number and scale of the works he composed for Australia in the early 1970s and early 1980s demonstrate his continuing preoccupation with his homeland and his commitment to maintaining a sense of Australian identity. The two programmatic Australian works composed during this period, *The Glitter Gang* and Symphony No. 7, show Williamson's concern for humanitarian issues and demonstrate his inclusive attitude towards Australians of all ages and cultural backgrounds. His focus on such issues suggests an overwhelming desire to be accepted by his own people. The criticism that Williamson attracted from Britain during this period, as discussed in Chapter 3, no doubt encouraged the composer to return his focus to his homeland, Australia. This is obvious in the number of major works that Williamson composed for Australia in the early 1980s, such as *In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze*,

[149] *A Pilgrim Liturgy* was the first work published by Campion Press. The Cantata was first performed at Putney Church near the River Thames on 8 December 1984. Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal conversation, 10 July 2006.
[150] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal conversation, 10 July 2006.
[151] *Lento for Strings* was premiered in 1985 at Music in the Round in Melbourne by the Philharmonia of Melbourne. The work appears on the recording CHAN 10406.

Symphony No. 6 and Symphony No. 7. This trend continued into the late 1980s and early 1990s, when the majority of large-scale works that Williamson composed were written for Australia and based on uniquely Australian topoi.

Chapter Seven

Bicentennial and Indigenous Compositions of the late 1980s and early 1990s

In the years leading up to the Australian Bicentenary in 1988, Williamson worked feverishly on a number of large-scale works for Australia. Although it had always been important to him that his music expressed a strong sense of Australian identity, the Bicentenary provided the perfect opportunity for him to attract publicity and gain a wider Australian audience than usual for his music through a series of works written specifically for and about Australia. He had long been an ardent supporter of indigenous rights and the celebration of the bicentenary of European settlement in Australia, with the issues of insensitivity and exclusion that it raised for indigenous Australians, influenced not only the works Williamson composed for Australia from this time onwards, but also his personal construct of Australianness. The following discussion addresses Williamson's projection of an Australian identity in the works he composed during the final decade of his working life, with a focus on the large-scale compositions he wrote for the Australian Bicentenary, *The True Endeavour* (1988) and *The Dawn is at Hand* (1989), as well as another significant work with connections to indigenous Australia, *Requiem for a Tribe Brother* (1992). Significantly, it will show that Williamson's whole notion of Australianness became increasingly politicised over time, as he learnt, in James Murdoch's words, "the power of lobbying and the mechanics of coercion."[1]

The Australian Bicentenary in 1988 was marked by thousands of events held nationwide that celebrated two hundred years of European settlement in Australia.[2] Many of these

[1] James Murdoch, *Australia's Contemporary Composers* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1972), 206. Murdoch also described Williamson as "musically political."
[2] Lyn Spillman, *Nation and Commemoration: Creating National Identities in the United States and Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 97-99. In total, over 24,000 activities and events were registered with the Australian Bicentennial Authority and most of these were organised locally.

activities received funding from the Australian Bicentennial Authority, which was formed in 1980.[3] The theme adopted by the Australian Bicentennial Authority for 1988 was "Living Together" and its objectives were:

> To celebrate the richness of *diversity* of Australians, their *traditions* and the freedoms which they enjoy. To encourage *all* Australians to understand and preserve their heritage . . . and look to the future with confidence.[4]

Despite the inclusive aims of the Australian Bicentennial Authority, however, a large proportion of the nation's indigenous people made their feelings known through extensive protest.[5] By celebrating the anniversary of European settlement, many non-indigenous Australian revellers completely and in most cases, unintentionally, overlooked the significance of the occasion for indigenous Australians, for whom the Bicentenary only served as a reminder of the incredible loss that their race had experienced in the preceding two hundred years. For most European settlers, there had been no history in Australia before the year 1788 and it was deemed necessary for Australian nationalism to start from the founding moment, a "year zero," otherwise it would have had to be regarded as part of the history of the "British race."[6] For indigenous Australians, however, this attitude denied the very existence of their predecessors.[7]

The first signs of the movement for Aboriginal rights had been associated with the celebration of the sesquicentenary of British settlement in 1938, when groups of

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[3] The Australian Bicentennial Authority was formed after discussions between national and state governments which began in 1978. The role of the Authority was to "plan, co-ordinate and promote a year-long programme of local, national and international activities and events." Stephen Castles, Mary Kalantzis, Bill Cope and Michael Morrissey, "The Bicentenary and the Failure of Australian Nationalism," *Social Literacy Monograph Series* (no. 40): 3.
[4] Stephen Castles, Mary Kalantzis, Bill Cope and Michael Morrissey, 3.
[5] Roslyn Russell, "Commemorating the Nation in the National Library of Australia," *NLA News* vol. 15, no. 10 (June 2005); available from http://www.nla.gov.au/pub/nlanews/2005/jul05/article5.html; Internet; accessed 11 August 2008.
[6] Stephen Castles, Mary Kalantzis, Bill Cope and Michael Morrissey, 5-7.
[7] Stephen Castles, Mary Kalantzis, Bill Cope and Michael Morrissey, 5-7.

indigenous Australians banded together to observe a Day of Mourning.[8] By 1988, this relatively low-key protest had turned into a much more substantial movement. On 26 January 1988, or "Australia Day," the indigenous communities commemorated "Survival Day" with a march described as "the biggest gathering of Aboriginal people in their 50,000 year history."[9] It was also observed that non-indigenous Australian supporters gathered for the first time, numbering in the tens of thousands. Although the Australian Bicentennial Authority funded many arts projects for performance and exhibition during the bicentennial year, there were few that explored ideas pertaining to the impact of European settlement upon Australia's indigenous population. Of the composers commissioned to write music for the Bicentenary, only Roger Smalley and Malcolm Williamson wrote large-scale works based on indigenous themes.[10]

Considering Williamson was one of Australia's foremost expatriate composers, it is not surprising that he received commissions from various cultural organisations to compose works in celebration of the Australian Bicentenary. In total, he composed three works to mark the occasion. One of these was a short anthem for orchestra entitled *Bicentennial Anthem* (1988), which was commissioned by the Australian Musical Foundation for performance at the Australian Bicentennial Royal Gala Concert in London in May 1988.[11]

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[8] Roslyn Russell, "Commemorating the Nation in the National Library of Australia."
[9] Roslyn Russell, "Commemorating the Nation in the National Library of Australia."
[10] Roger Smalley (b. 1943) composed *The Southland* (1986-88), a large-scale work for chorus, two didgeridoos, gamelan ensemble, folk group and large orchestra, for the Australian Bicentenary. The work was commissioned by the Western Australian Youth Orchestra Association with funds provided by the Australian Bicentennial Authority and dedicated to Sir Frank Callaway and Peter Sculthorpe. It is divided into five parts, each dealing with a key aspect of the Australian experience; for example, the first section represents the indigenous population prior to the British invasion of 1788. The work borrows its text from various sources, including a poem by the Aboriginal writer Jack Davis and assorted folk songs. Roger Smalley, "An Interview with Roger Smalley," interview by William Yeoman, transcript, June 2007; available from http://www.classicalsource.com/db_control/db_features.php?id=5207; Internet; accessed 27 November 2008. Sculthorpe composed the cantata *Child of Australia* in celebration of the Bicentenary, although it does not include any obvious connections to indigenous Australia.
[11] This concert was held at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, London, on 9 May 1988. Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue" (Hertfordshire: Campion Press, 2008), 25. According to Simon Campion, "The concert in question also featured Dame Edna in *Peter and the Wolf* banging on to 'Chuck,' our very own Australian and very distinguished conductor." Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 2 July 2007.

The *Bicentennial Anthem* combines arrangements of the Australian and British National Anthems, *Advance Australia Fair* and *God Save The Queen*, joined by linking material, and as such, it highlights Australia's ties to Britain.[12] The work was premiered by the Australian conductor Sir Charles Mackerras and the Orchestra of the Royal Opera House and is dedicated to Princess Alexandra,[13] facts that also strengthen the work's links to both Australia and Britain. The other two compositions that Williamson wrote for the Australian Bicentenary were large-scale works commissioned by the Australian Bicentennial Authority, among other organisations, for performance in Australia. *The True Endeavour* sets texts by Manning Clark, while *The Dawn is at Hand* features poetry by the indigenous poet Oodgeroo Noonuccal (also known as Kath Walker). Considering Williamson's strong ties to the British establishment, it would not have been unrealistic for the parties commissioning these works to expect that he would embrace the opportunity to write pieces that celebrated the history of European settlement in Australia. What they did not seem to anticipate, however, was that Williamson would use the two high-profile commissions to make public statements of outrage at what he viewed as the inappropriate celebration of two hundred years of "white supremacy and near eradication of the world's oldest extant culture," meaning the indigenous population of Australia.[14] These works demonstrate Williamson's ongoing concern for humanitarian and political issues as well as his continuing dedication to maintaining a nexus between himself and his homeland through his music.

The True Endeavour: A Symphonic Statement for speaker, mixed chorus and orchestra was commissioned by the Sydney Opera House Trust with the sponsorship of the Australian

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[12] The arrangements can be performed in either order or separately. Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal email, 2 July 2007. The score is published by Campion Press.
[13] Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue," 25. Princess Alexandra (1936-2004) was the daughter of Prince George, Duke of Kent, and Princess Marina of Greece and Denmark. She was the first cousin of Queen Elizabeth II.
[14] Malcolm Williamson, introduction to Kath Walker, *The Dawn is at Hand: Poems* (London: Marion Boyars, 1992), 9.

Bicentennial Authority.[15] The Sydney Opera House Trust had requested Williamson to compose a large-scale work for narrator, chorus and orchestra to be performed as part of a large program of events to be held on Australia Day 1988. Prince Charles and Princess Diana were invited to be the guests of honour at this well-publicised bicentennial event, which was to include speeches by dignitaries, a fly-past and a re-enactment in Sydney Harbour of the landing of the ships and the premiere of *The True Endeavour* at the Opera House forecourt.[16] The focus of these activities was on the moment of occupation; the arrival of the First Fleet. Williamson, however, had no intention of writing a work that celebrated the two-hundredth anniversary of what he referred to as "white man's incursion into the Australian continent,"[17] as he later explained: "1988 seemed to me a year when sorrow for man's inhumanity to man would have been more suitable than celebration of white conquest."[18] Instead, he wrote a work which addresses the mistakes made in Australia's past, in particular the "despoliation" of the natural environment and Aboriginal dwellings, as well as the need for "Makarrata,"[19] or reconciliation between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians. Williamson selected appropriate passages of text from Manning Clark's 1976 Boyer Lectures, "A Discovery of Australia," and excerpts from the six-volume *A History of Australia*, with which he had become familiar a few years earlier whilst preparing his Seventh Symphony.[20] He also incorporated texts from the Latin Requiem Mass and conceptually, he drew heavily on Oodgeroo Noonuccal's children's book *Father Sky and Mother Earth* (1981), which explains the creation of the world

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[15] Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue," 33.
[16] Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, *Malcolm Williamson: A Mischievous Muse* (London: Omnibus Press, 2007), 442.
[17] Malcolm Williamson, introduction to Kath Walker, *The Dawn is at Hand: Poems*, 10-13.
[18] Malcolm Williamson, introduction to Kath Walker, *The Dawn is at Hand: Poems*, 10-13.
[19] Makarrata is an Aboriginal word meaning "the end of a dispute and the resumption of normal relations." A Makarrata is viewed by the indigenous communities of Australia as a way of recognising the place and status of indigenous Australians as equals in the wider Australian community and also as a way of acknowledging the friendship and mutual respect that indigenous and non-indigenous Australians should have for one another. Ian Wilson, "The Makarrata and the Government," *Aboriginal Law Bulletin*; available from http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/AboriginalLB/1982/46.html; Internet; accessed 1 December 2008.
[20] Malcolm Williamson, *The True Endeavour: A Symphonic Statement* (Sandon: Campion Press, 1988), preface.

according to Aboriginal beliefs and the subsequent destruction of the natural environment by human beings.[21] Williamson designed *The True Endeavour* to meet the requirements specified by the commissioning body, producing a large-scale work for performance outdoors; however, he found the task of incorporating a narrator to speak over the musical material difficult, as he revealed in a letter to a friend:

> I can't really bear music and the spoken word simultaneously, as it is impossible to absorb both at the same time. My present thinking is to have prose read between the music sections, and I am raiding the rich mines of the great Manning Clark for suitable stuff.[22]

As Williamson initially planned, he set the texts so that they would be spoken between fragments heard from the orchestra, in order to allow for easy comprehension of words and music. The complete work lasts for just under forty minutes duration and is divided into seven sections: "The Southern Cross Above Gondwana," "Aboriginal Australia," "Barcarolle of the Disinherited Country," "The Rain Forest – Urban Despoliation," "Threnody for Murdered Aborigines," "The Past and the Challenge" and "Mateship – Whitlam's Vision – Makarrata."[23]

The text read by the narrator at the opening of the first movement, "The Southern Cross Above Gondwana," is drawn from Manning Clark's 1976 Boyer Lectures and outlines the purpose of the entire composition:

> My purpose is to tell the story of what happened when a great civilisation was transplanted to our ancient continent. My purpose is to show that the more successful our ancestors were in planting that civilisation in the Australian wilderness, the more disastrous it was for the original tenants of the soil . . . .[24]

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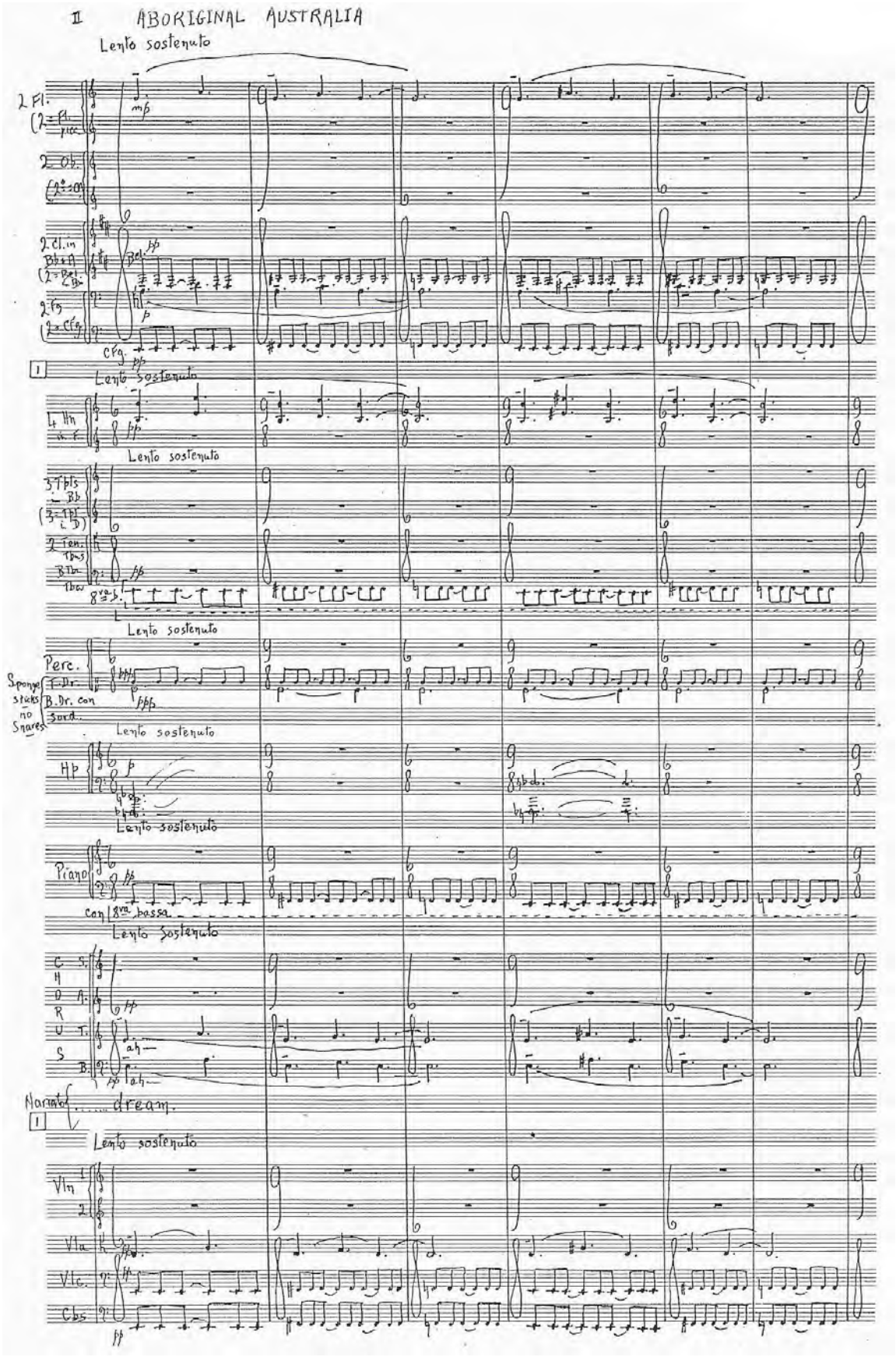
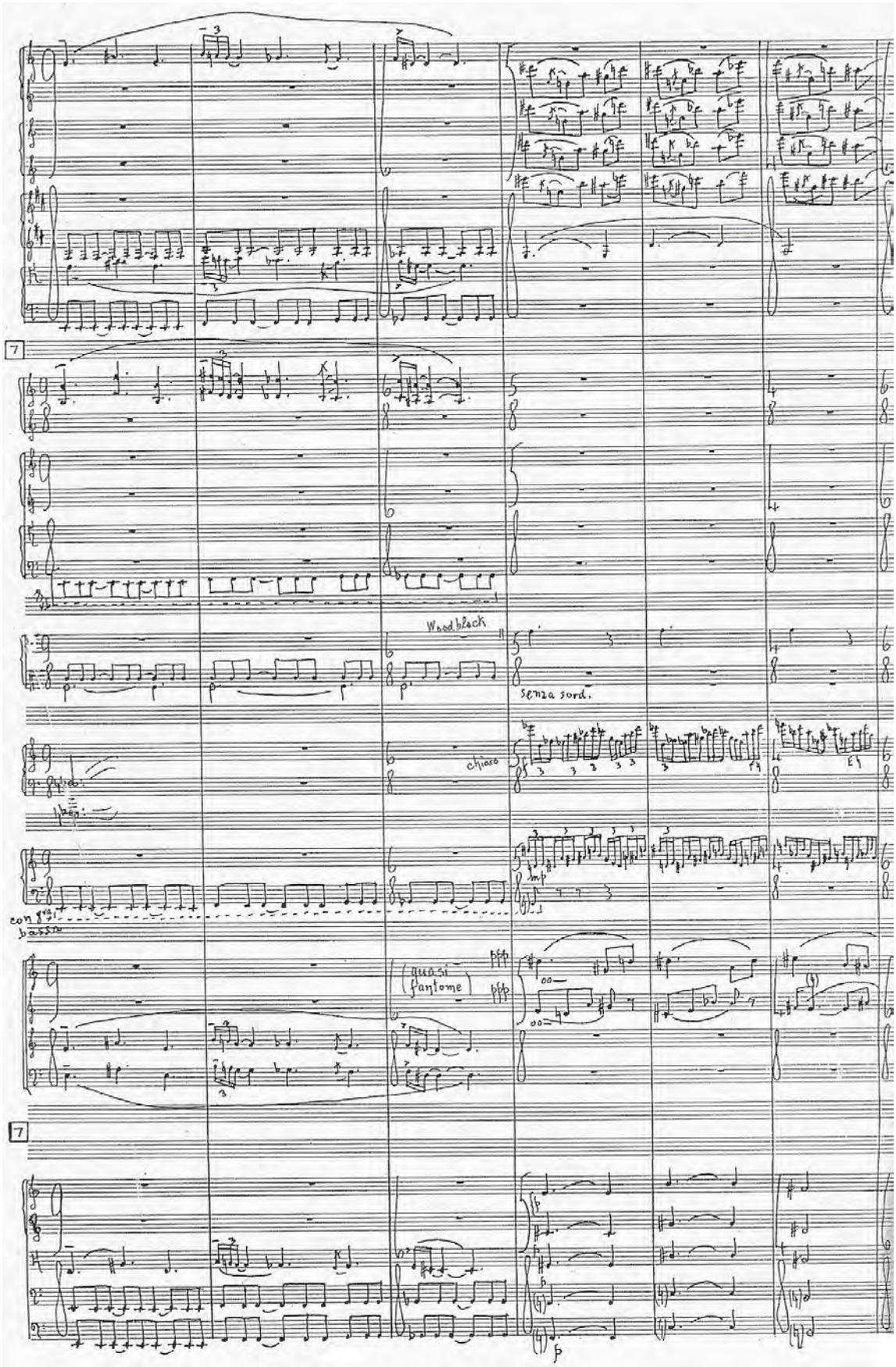
[21] Malcolm Williamson, *The True Endeavour: A Symphonic Statement*, preface.
[22] Malcolm Williamson to Robert Solomon, 20 April 1987, quoted in Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 428. Other composers and event organisers also turned to the works of Manning Clark to find inspiration for their bicentennial projects, the most obvious example being Don Watson's notoriously unsuccessful stage production *Manning Clark's History of Australia: The Musical*.
[23] Malcolm Williamson, *The True Endeavour: A Symphonic Statement*.
[24] Malcolm Williamson, *The True Endeavour: A Symphonic Statement*, 1-4.

Therefore right from the outset of the work, it is clear that Williamson intended to make a strong statement about injustice by addressing man's inhumanity to man. Even the title of the composition, *The True Endeavour: A Symphonic Statement*, is a clever play on words which utilises the name of the vessel that brought James Cook to Australia, the Endeavour, whilst simultaneously reflecting the work's underlying purpose; to uncover the truth about the darker, destructive side of the settlement process.

In the musical setting, Williamson employed a number of devices to create a nexus to Australia and specifically, indigenous Australia. For example, the second movement, "Aboriginal Australia," features drones that are suggestive of the sound of a didgeridoo from the chorus and also utilizes percussion sticks and wood blocks to create various rhythmic effects not unlike those heard in traditional Aboriginal music (see Figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1 Williamson, *The True Endeavour*, second movement, manuscript, bb. 1-12.

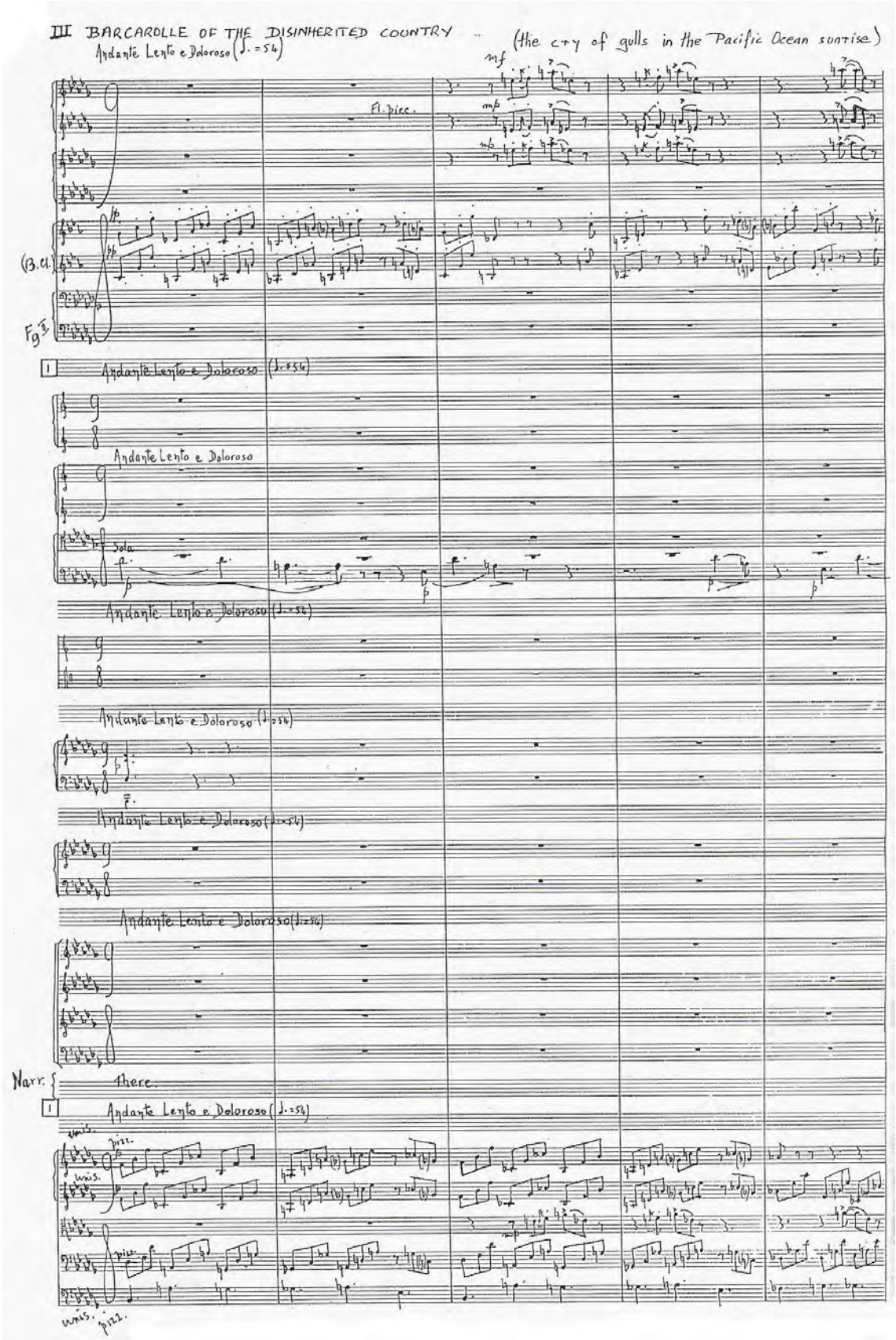



7
Woodblock
senza sord.
chiaro
con gva bassa
(quasi fantome)
7

In the third movement, "Barcarolle of the Disinherited Country," Williamson created a link between his music and the Australian landscape by imitating the sound of bird calls, in this case the cry of seagulls, to evoke the scene of sunrise over the Pacific Ocean (see Figure 7.2). He also included a solo tuba figure which he noted on the score as being inspired by a warning-horn as a reference to Manning Clark's warning that unless Australians "take stock" of themselves, "Blood will stain the wattle"[25] (Figure 7.2). This reference creates another link between the "mother country," England, and Australia in *The True Endeavour* and also reflects Williamson's familiarity with both countries; yet another product of his experience as an expatriate. However, Williamson's use of the words "we Australians" in this note confirms that despite the fact he had lived abroad for some thirty-five years, he still considered himself to be Australian.

[25] Malcolm Williamson, *The True Endeavour: A Symphonic Statement*, 32.

Figure 7.2 Williamson, *The True Endeavour*, third movement, manuscript, bb. 1-5.



The fourth movement, "The Rain Forest – Urban Despoliation," is equally pictorial and uses, in Williamson's words, "millions of notes" to represent the trees in Australian rainforests, in order to address the devastating impact that man has made upon the landscape and natural environment and express the need for conservation.[26] In contrast, the fifth movement, "Threnody for Murdered Aborigines," is a sombre song of lamentation that borrows its text from parts of the Requiem Mass, the *In Paradisum* and *Pie Jesu*.[27] Williamson's reference to the Roman Catholic tradition in this movement, rather than an Aboriginal burial rite, suggests that he wrote the lament on behalf of non-indigenous Australians, whom he hoped would develop greater awareness of the mistakes made by previous generations. The final two movements of *The True Endeavour*, "The Past and the Challenge" and "Mateship – Whitlam's Vision – Makarrata," look to the future with hope for a united Australia. As the music builds to a dramatic climax, the text of the final movement leaves the listener with the following thought:

> This generation has a chance to be wiser than previous generations. They can make their own history.[28]

Unfortunately, this deeply moving and thought-provoking work was not performed on Australia Day 1988, as had been once planned. After months of struggling with the score due to ill-health and numerous distractions in the form of other commissions,[29] Williamson failed to complete the work on time for the scheduled premiere. In its place, the audience, including the Royal couple, heard Douglas Gamley's *Overture on Colonial Themes*, which

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[26] Malcolm Williamson to Robert Solomon, 7 September 1987, quoted in Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 434.
[27] Malcolm Williamson, *The True Endeavour: A Symphonic Statement*, 62-85.
[28] Malcolm Williamson, *The True Endeavour: A Symphonic Statement*, 110-13.
[29] In 1987, Williamson composed two pieces for the wedding of the daughter of his friend Robert Solomon, *Springtime on the River Moskva* and *Pas de Trois*, as well as the choral works *Easter in St Mary's Church* and *Galilee* and the band work *Concertino for Charles*. In the Bicentennial year, he was also working on *A Book of Christmas Carols* (Arrangements), the ballet *Have Steps Will Travel* (to *Piano Concerto No. 3*) and *Fanfare of Homage* for military band, in addition to the works discussed in this chapter. Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue," 11-12.

ironically, is based on British folk tunes.[30] The bicentennial celebrations were to continue throughout the year and another performance date was set for October 1988. Records show that Williamson completed the score in the first few months of 1988 and it was delivered to the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra in April.[31] Problems arose, however, when the event organisers changed the performance location to an indoor venue and substituted the conductor and narrators without consulting the composer. Williamson was extremely frustrated that these changes had been made without regard for his feelings or wishes, and he saw this behaviour as typically Australian, as the following letter from August 1988 indicates:

> The arrangements for the October 23 are a fuck-up to the point of genius – the venue is now the Opera House, not the forecourt; without my permission they've changed the conductor from Dobbs Franks with whom I prepared the work to Iwaki, who, being Japanese, will undoubtedly make a good job of Professor Clark's fine text with narrator and chorus; they've failed to ask Ruth Cracknell, Michael Johnson and Mr Justice Kirby to narrate and have engaged some dim-wit to superimpose a "pageant" (whatever that may mean) on my work. I know of no other country where a nationally important artistic centre high-handedly overrides the author's wishes.[32]

Williamson was even more upset when he learned that the performance would not go ahead at all because according to reports, the orchestra had not had sufficient time to rehearse the work.[33] Considering there is evidence that the orchestra had possession of the score six months ahead of the October performance date, on this occasion the composer

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[30] Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 442.
[31] Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 442.
[32] Malcolm Williamson to Robert Solomon, 17 August 1988, quoted in Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 443. The involvement of well-known Australians such as Ruth Cracknell in this project would have strengthened the work's connections to Australia even more. In July 1988 Williamson had written with frustration to his mother, "As far as I can tell there is deplorable lack of activity in Sydney . . . . They've had *The True Endeavour* for ages." Malcolm Williamson, Hertfordshire, to Bessie Williamson, Australia, 31 July 1988, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson, National Library of Australia MS Acc04/159. Williamson also conveyed his anguish in a letter to his mother dated 20 September 1988: "There has been lying and dirty work at the crossroads over *The True Endeavour* with Sydney Opera House, so I am allowing the performance to take place for Manning Clark's sake, but shall not attend it." Malcolm Williamson, Hertfordshire, to Bessie Williamson, Australia, 20 September 1988.
[33] Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 443.

could not have been accused of failing to deliver the work on time. Instead, it is likely that the delays to the rehearsal schedule were caused by the row that had ensued between Williamson and the event organisers over changes to the performance arrangements. The reason why the work was withdrawn may also have been related to its overt message of social justice, which Williamson had tried to project at a time when the vast majority of white Australians were consumed by the celebration of two hundred years of European advancement and achievement in Australia, as stated previously.

The saga over *The True Endeavour* affected Williamson deeply. In November 1988, just prior to his fifty-seventh birthday and within a month of the cancelled premiere performance of *The True Endeavour*, Williamson suffered a stroke that was severe enough for him to lose the use of one of his hands temporarily.[34] The stress of the whole situation also sent him into a period of depression. In January 1989, he wrote to his mother, Bessie, in Australia:

> I cannot but wish that *The True Endeavour* on which I worked under your roof . . . had come out as scheduled. I suffered a delayed reaction to the shock of the last-minute cancellation, and am quite disgusted . . . . It was a gigantic labour, and was one of my two tributes to Australia [for the Bicentenary] – all for the moment down the drain![35]

Williamson's health problems also caused delays to progress on the second major composition that he had planned for the Australian Bicentenary, his Symphony No. 8, *The Dawn is at Hand*.[36] Although this work was not given its first performance during the bicentennial year, it was given a public airing the following year, in October 1989. The

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[34] Malcolm Williamson, Hertfordshire, to Bessie Williamson, Australia, 2 January 1989, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson.
[35] Malcolm Williamson, Hertfordshire, to Bessie Williamson, Australia, 2 January 1989, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson.
[36] Williamson described the process of writing *The Dawn is at Hand* as a "tremendous strain." Malcolm Williamson, *The Dawn is At Hand*, spoken introduction to cassette recording of premiere performance, 1989, from Simon Campion, Campion Press, Hertfordshire, England.

work was commissioned by the Queensland State and Municipal Choir with assistance from the Australian Bicentennial Authority and the Australia Council. Williamson had originally considered rejecting this commission because of its association with the state of Queensland, which he believed had an "unappealing history of injustice to the Aboriginal people."[37] He was convinced to accept the offer by the administrator of the Queensland State and Municipal Choir, who suggested that he set texts by indigenous Australian poet Kath Walker (also known as Oodgeroo Noonuccal) to music.[38] Kath Walker (1920-1993) was an indigenous poet, essayist, painter, actress, dancer and educator[39] who received numerous honorary doctorates and an M.B.E. for services to literature, which she later returned to Buckingham Palace in protest at the failure of the Federal Government to legislate nationally for land rights.[40] She was a strong advocate of Aboriginal rights and her poetry has a resonance and lyricism that lends it well to musical setting.[41] Williamson was excited by the idea of setting her poetry to music, as he later explained:

> I knew and admired [Walker's] poems and, without allowing more than a second for astonishment, I shook [the administrator's] hand and said, "Done!" He explained that the great lady had never allowed her poems to be set to music and that, therefore, two trials had to be undergone to gain her permission – the first, by telephone; the second, face to face.[42]

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[37] Williamson had initially prepared what he described as a "lordly, disdainful rejection of the offer." Malcolm Williamson, introduction to Kath Walker, *The Dawn is at Hand: Poems*, 10-13.
[38] Malcolm Williamson, *The Dawn is At Hand*, spoken introduction to cassette recording of premiere performance, 1989.
[39] Walker's school on Stradbroke Island, Moongalba, had more than 30,000 children pass through its doors. Malcolm Williamson, introduction to Kath Walker, *The Dawn is at Hand: Poems*, 15.
[40] Greg Roberts, "And Now to Settle a Royal Score, by Malcolm Williamson," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 October 1989, 3. Kath Walker came to reconsider her acceptance, as she later explained: "Since 1970 I have lived in the hope that the parliaments of England and Australia would confer and attempt to rectify the terrible damage done to the Australian Aborigines . . . . Next year, 1988, to me marks 200 years of rape and carnage . . . . From the Aboriginal point of view, what is there to celebrate? . . . I have therefore decided that as a protest against what the Bicentenary 'Celebrations' stand for, I can no longer, with a clear conscience, accept the English honour of the MBE and will be returning it to her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II." Kath Walker, "Oodgeroo Noonuccal," *National Foundation of Australian Women*; available from http://www.womenaustralia.info/biogs/IMP0082b.htm; Internet; accessed 24/9/08. The Queen reportedly "fully understood" the reasons for Walker returning the M.B.E. and expressed her belief that England "had a lot to answer for in regard to its behaviour over the centuries."
[41] Kath Walker's poetry has been selected to represent Australian literature in North America, Europe, Africa and Asia and many Australian children would be familiar with her poems, especially "We Are Going" and "Song of Hope," which are regularly taught in classrooms across Australia.
[42] Malcolm Williamson, introduction to Kath Walker, *The Dawn is at Hand: Poems*, 10-13.

After a daunting telephone conversation in which Williamson was quizzed on every topic from his political views to his own moral values, he was invited to visit Walker on Stradbroke Island. Together, the composer and poet discussed Walker's poetry and Williamson's plans for setting it to music, and he was then given permission to set selected poems to music. Williamson later described the collaboration process in detail:

> Having studied all [Kath Walker's] printed poems, so diverse and rich, I had arrived with the list in sequence of the poems I wanted to set for what was to become the hour-long choral symphony *The Dawn is at Hand* . . . . Kath took my list and, giving sound reasons, reassembled it adding some poems, taking others away. It is hard to know how, before any music was written, she had so astutely envisaged the structure which stands so satisfactorily as the final text . . . . As I went to work on my music, my excitement about the poetry was intensified by the aura of the poet, but simultaneously burdened by the responsibility of looking greatness in the face.[43]

The Dawn is at Hand is a fifty-five minute, five-movement setting for soloists,[44] chorus and orchestra of ten of Kath Walker's poems, all drawn from the collection *My People*:[45] "The Dawn is at Hand," "Let Us Not Be Bitter," "Aboriginal Charter of Rights," "The Curlew Cried," "Tree Grave," "Dawn Wail for the Dead," "Assimilation – No!," "We are Going," "United We Win" and "A Song of Hope."[46] The first movement is a setting of the three poems "The Dawn is at Hand," "Let Us Not Be Bitter" and "Aboriginal Charter of Rights." Williamson composed this movement several months before writing the remainder of the work and whilst he was feeling rather depressed about his health. Consequently, the movement is very serious and solemn in character, a fine match to the mood of the poetry, which addresses the rights of indigenous Australians and expresses

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[43] Malcolm Williamson, introduction to Kath Walker, *The Dawn is at Hand: Poems*, 10-14. Williamson's admiration for Walker is obvious in the following statement, which he made shortly prior to the premiere of *The Dawn is at Hand*, "There is no greater jewel in the literary crown in our time that I know of." Malcolm Williamson quoted in Elise Johnston, "My Country, Black or White," *Courier Mail*, 20 October 1989.
[44] The solo parts are for soprano, mezzo-soprano, tenor and baritone.
[45] Kath Walker, *My People: A Kath Walker Collection* (Milton, Qld: Jacaranda Press, 1970).
[46] Malcolm Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand (Symphony No. 8)* Full Score (Hertfordshire: Campion Press, 1989).

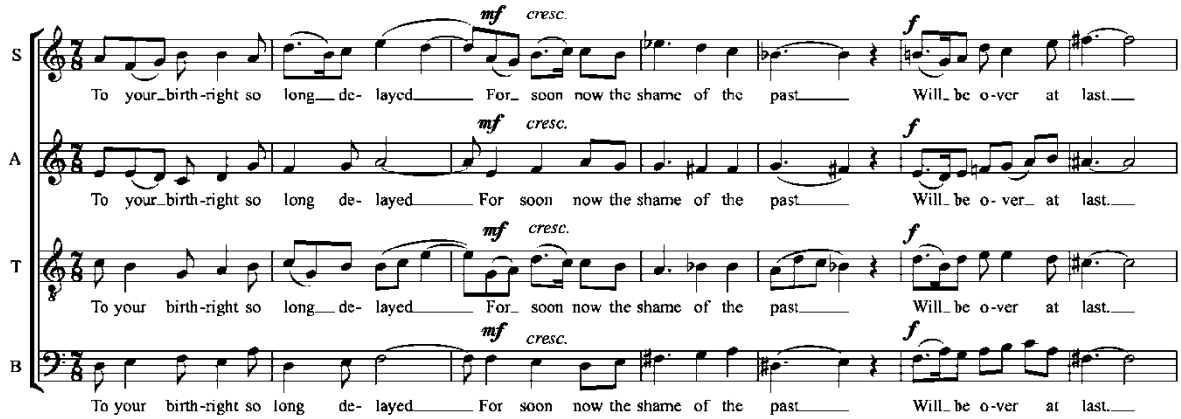
hope for a future marked by forgiveness and equality between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians, as the following excerpt from the opening of the title poem, "The Dawn is at Hand," suggests:

> Dark brothers, first Australian race,
> Soon you will take your rightful place
> In the brotherhood long waited for,
> Fringe-dwellers no more.
>
> Sore, sore, the tears you shed
> When hope seemed folly and justice dead.
> Was the long night weary? Look up, dark band,
> The dawn is at hand.
>
> Go forward proudly and unafraid
> To your birthright all too long delayed,
> For soon now the shame of the past
> Will be over at last.[47]

In the musical setting of these poems, Williamson juxtaposed consonant and dissonant chords and whole passages of music, as if to suggest in musical terms the contrast between the painful injustices of the past and the optimism for a more harmonious future, as conveyed in the accompanying text. For example, in Williamson's setting of the last two lines of the text given above, he employed a dissonant harmony (a diminished seventh chord with an added minor ninth, constructed of the notes F-sharp, A, G and E-flat) on the word "shame," which eventually resolves to a consonant harmony at the end of the following line of text, an F-sharp major chord on the word "last" (see Figure 7.3).

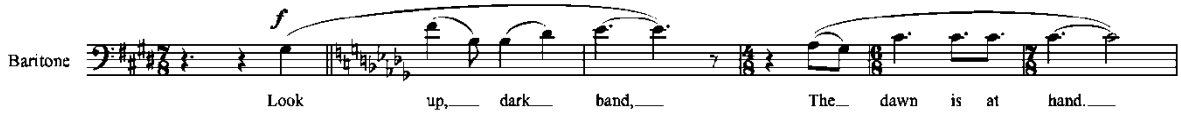
[47] Kath Walker quoted in Malcolm Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand (Symphony No. 8)* Full Score, 2-8.

Figure 7.3 Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand*, first movement, choral part, bb. 40-46.



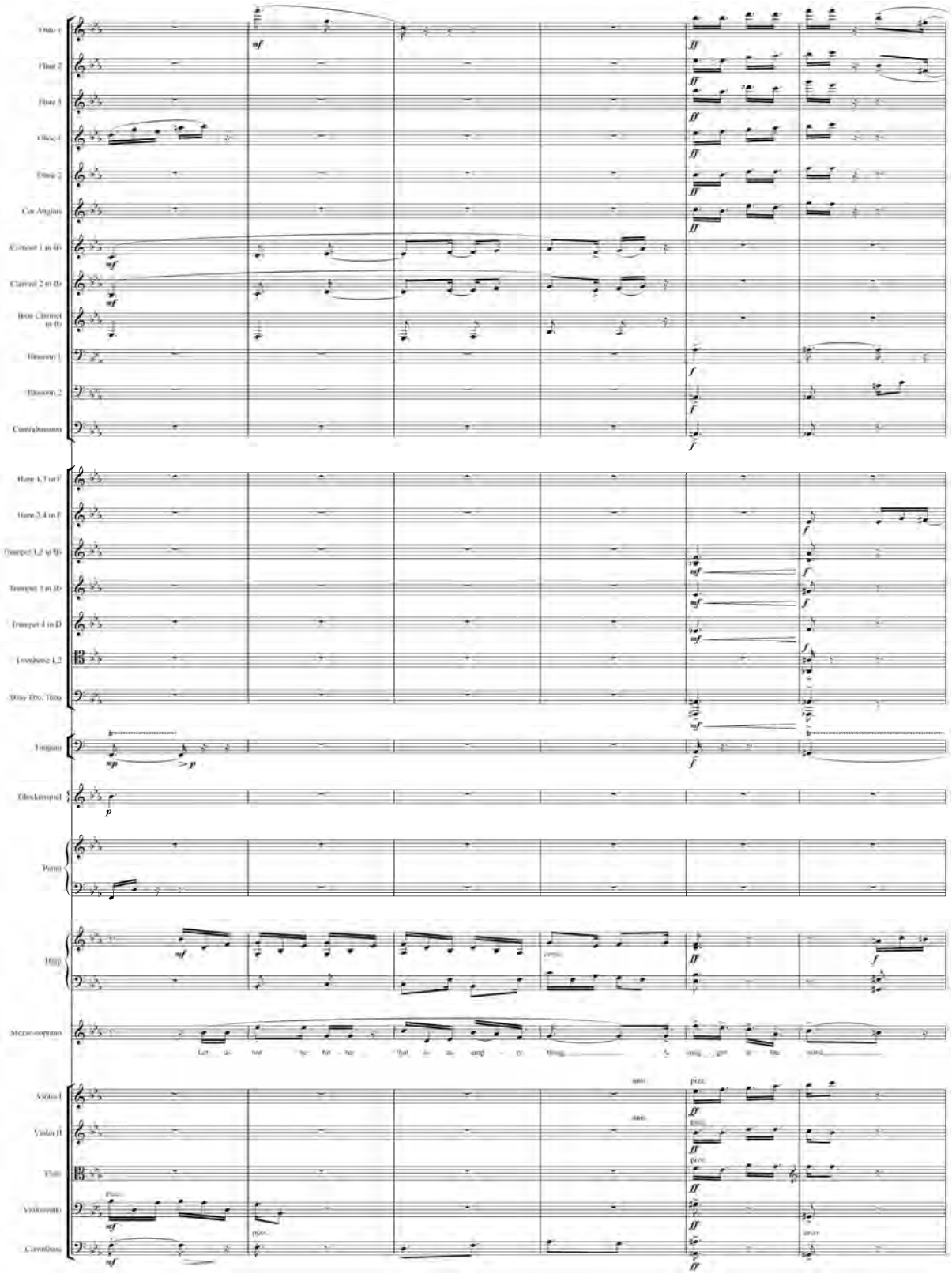
On a more superficial, melodic level, Williamson conveyed the meaning of the text through simple word-painting techniques, such as the use of a large, ascending leap in the solo baritone melody to underpin the words "look up" in the phrase "Look up, dark band, The dawn is at hand," as can be seen in Figure 7.4 below.

Figure 7.4 Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand*, first movement, baritone part, bb. 29-34.



The setting of the poem "Let Us Not Be Bitter" continues in a similar vein, although its employment of a mezzo-soprano soloist, rather than baritone soloist, provides a strong contrast to the setting of the first poem. Significant phrases of text, such as "Let us not be bitter, that is an empty thing, A maggot in the mind," are emphasised through the employment of dramatic, forceful accents in the mezzo-soprano line and a fortissimo orchestral accompaniment (see the setting of the words "A maggot in the mind" in Figure 7.5).

Figure 7.5 Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand*, first movement, bb. 161-66.



The movement draws to a close with a bold statement on behalf of indigenous Australians; "Aboriginal Charter of Rights," based on the poem of the same name that was written for and presented to the fifth Annual General Meeting of the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, which was held in Adelaide in 1962.[48] The text sets out the hopes and needs of the indigenous people of Australia for future harmony, as the following excerpt demonstrates:

> We want hope, not racialism,
> Brotherhood, not ostracism,
> Black advance, not white ascendance:
> Make us equals, not dependants . . . .
> Give us welcome, not aversion,
> Give us choice, not cold coercion,
> Status, not discrimination,
> Human rights, not segregation . . . .
> Though baptised and blessed and Bibled
> We are still tabooed and libelled.
> You devout salvation sellers,
> Make us neighbours, not fringe-dwellers;
> Make us mates, not poor relations,
> Citizens, not serfs on stations.
> Must we native Old Australians
> In our land rank as aliens?
> Banish bans and conquer caste,
> Then we'll win our own at last.[49]

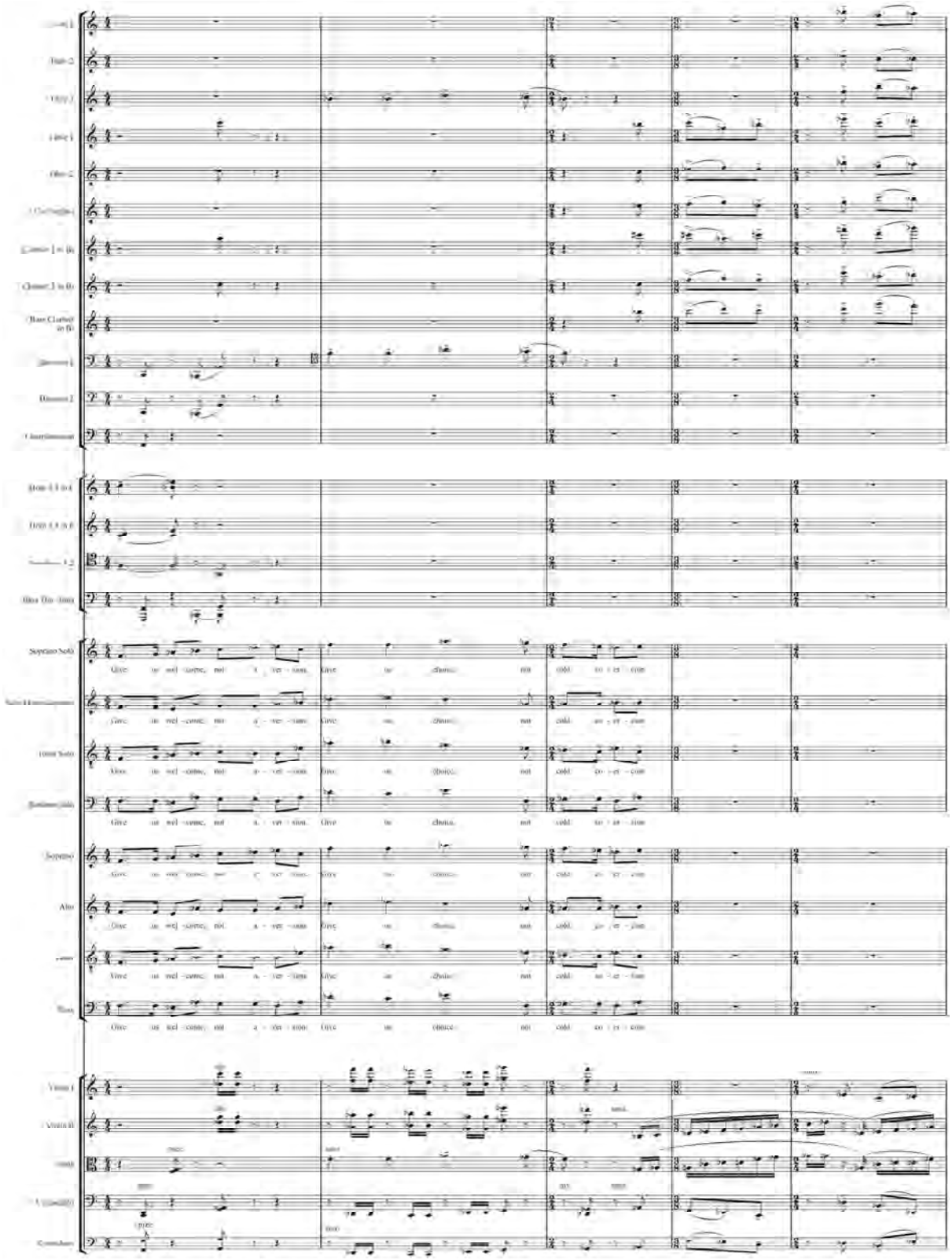
This is Kath Walker's plea for basic human compassion and understanding on behalf of the entire indigenous population of Australia, and Williamson gave the text not just one voice, but many voices, in a powerful musical setting for chorus and later, soloists and chorus, as

[48] Kath Walker, *The Dawn is At Hand*, spoken introduction to cassette recording of premiere performance, 1989, from Simon Campion, Campion Press, Hertfordshire, England.
[49] Kath Walker quoted in Malcolm Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand (Symphony No. 8)* Full Score, 31-60. "Aboriginal Charter of Rights" has also been set to music and recorded by folk singer Gary Shearston under the title *We Want Freedom*.

is evident in Figure 7.6. The music features a strong rhythmic impulse, which helps to project the demands of the text in a forthright manner, suggesting that Williamson supported the sentiments expressed in Walker's text wholeheartedly. Additionally, there are many dissonant passages of music that eventually resolve to a more consonant conclusion, which helps to reinforce the positive meaning that the final phrase of text adopts, "Banish bans and conquer caste, Then we'll win our own at last."[50]

[50] Malcolm Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand (Symphony No. 8)* Full Score, 59-60.

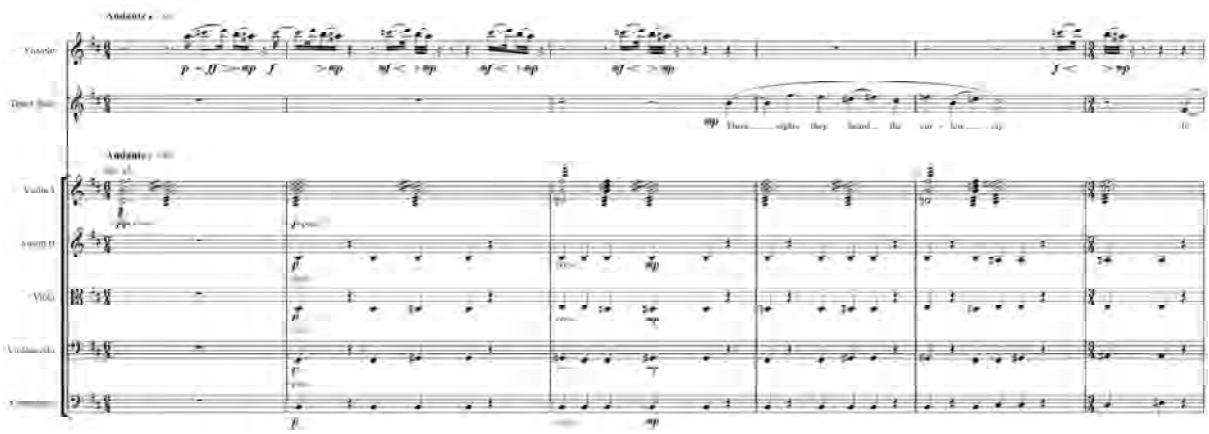
Figure 7.6 Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand*, first movement, bb. 276-80.



Similar musical devices to those used in the first movement were also employed by Williamson in the remaining four movements of *The Dawn is at Hand* to support the meaning of Kath Walker's thought-provoking poetry and create a moving personal tribute to Australia's indigenous population. The three poems set in the second movement each explore an aspect of indigenous Australian culture, such as beliefs about life and death and rituals for mourning deceased tribe members. The first poem, "The Curlew Cried," explains the Aboriginal belief that if the curlew cries for three nights in succession, it is a warning to the tribe that one of its members is about to pass away. Williamson aptly set the text of this poem to a haunting, chromatic melody for tenor solo, followed by soprano solo and then chorus. He also employed bird calls to represent the curlew and the message of death with which it is associated. These bird calls are heard from the piccolo at the very outset of the movement, as can be seen in Figure 7.7, and also help to identify the work with the natural environment of Australia. Williamson's personal response to this poetry reflects his individual cultural identity and also shows the deep affinity and respect that he felt for Kath Walker's poetry and indigenous Australian culture in general.

Figure 7.7 Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand*, second movement, bb. 1-6.

II

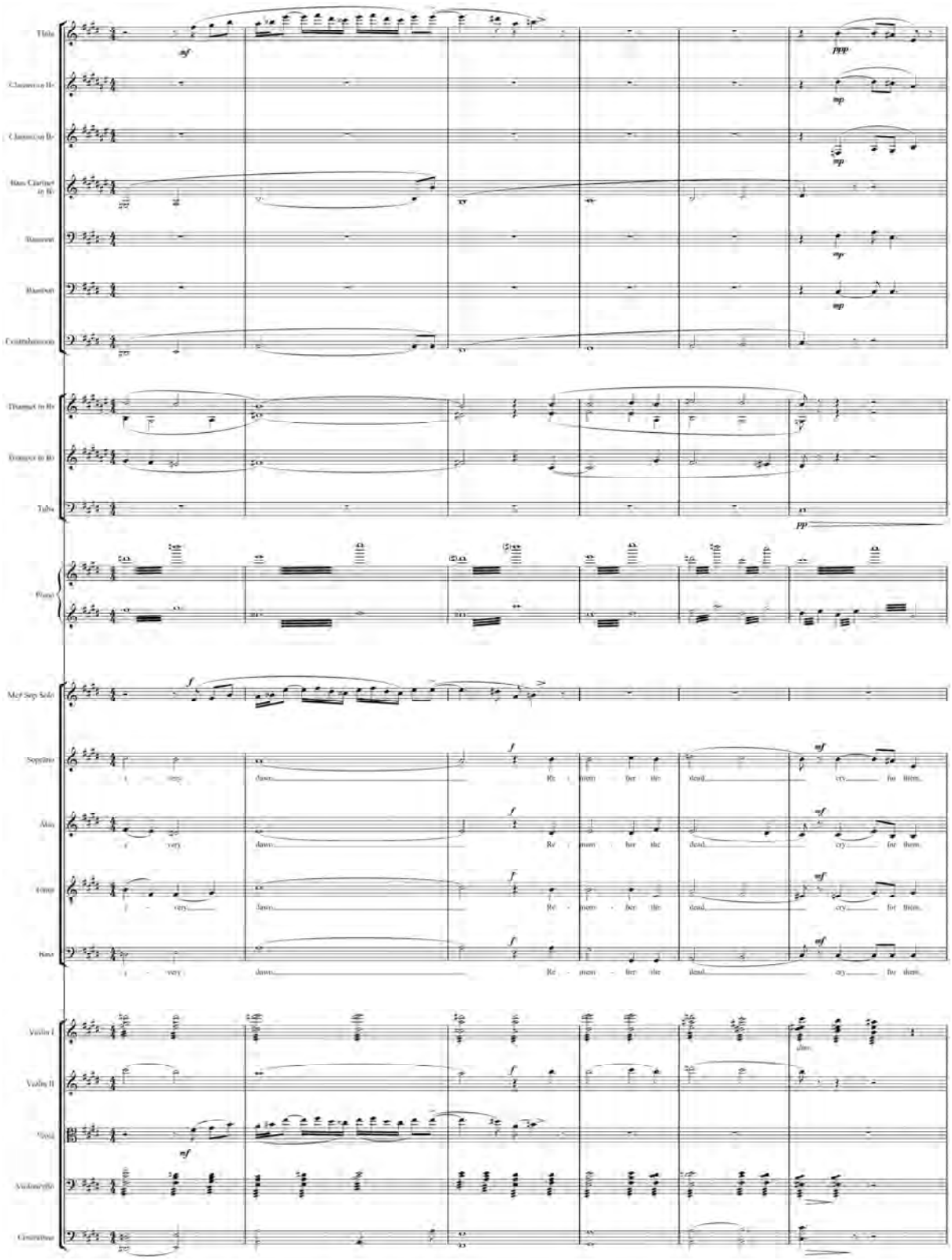


Bird calls also punctuate the settings of the next two poems that appear in the second movement, "Tree Grave" and "Dawn Wail for the Dead." These bird calls not only evoke the sounds of the landscape described in the text, but are also a means through which Williamson created a tangible link between his music and Australia. "Tree Grave" describes Aboriginal funeral rites taking place at a lonely tree grave beside a still lagoon and is given a gentle, mostly tonal setting for solo tenor and chorus.[51] "Dawn Wail for the Dead," on the other hand, describes the daily communal ritual of mourning deceased tribe members and, appropriately, features a wordless mezzo-soprano soloist singing "like a wail" above the chorus' statement of the main melody and text (see Figure 7.8).[52]

[51] Later in the setting of the poem "Tree Grave," a solo soprano joins the solo tenor and chorus. Malcolm Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand (Symphony No. 8)* Full Score, 84, 86-87.

[52] The marking "like a wail" is given in the score. The melody sung by the wordless mezzo-soprano is doubled by the flute and viola, giving the sound an eerie, haunting quality. Malcolm Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand (Symphony No. 8)* Full Score, 92.

Figure 7.8 Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand*, second movement, bb. 161-66.



It is a regular practice for the members of some indigenous Australian tribes to remember the dead every morning at dawn, before going about their daily activities, and so it is fitting that this important ritual is referred to in *The Dawn is at Hand*, which Williamson intended to be an authentic reflection of, and tribute to, indigenous Australian life and culture. Kath Walker explained the significance of the ritual of wailing for the dead in an interview held prior to the first performance of the choral symphony:

> Unlike those in the invading field, in the Aboriginal world we mourn our dead every day of every week, of every month of every year. As a matter of fact, some of the tribes will not start the day unless they first wail for the dead. But even as we wail for the dead, we know we have a responsibility to the living, so after we have wailed for the dead, we go about the business of looking after the living . . . . [In the poem "Dawn Wail for the Dead"] I have tried to capture our type of "Last Post."[53]

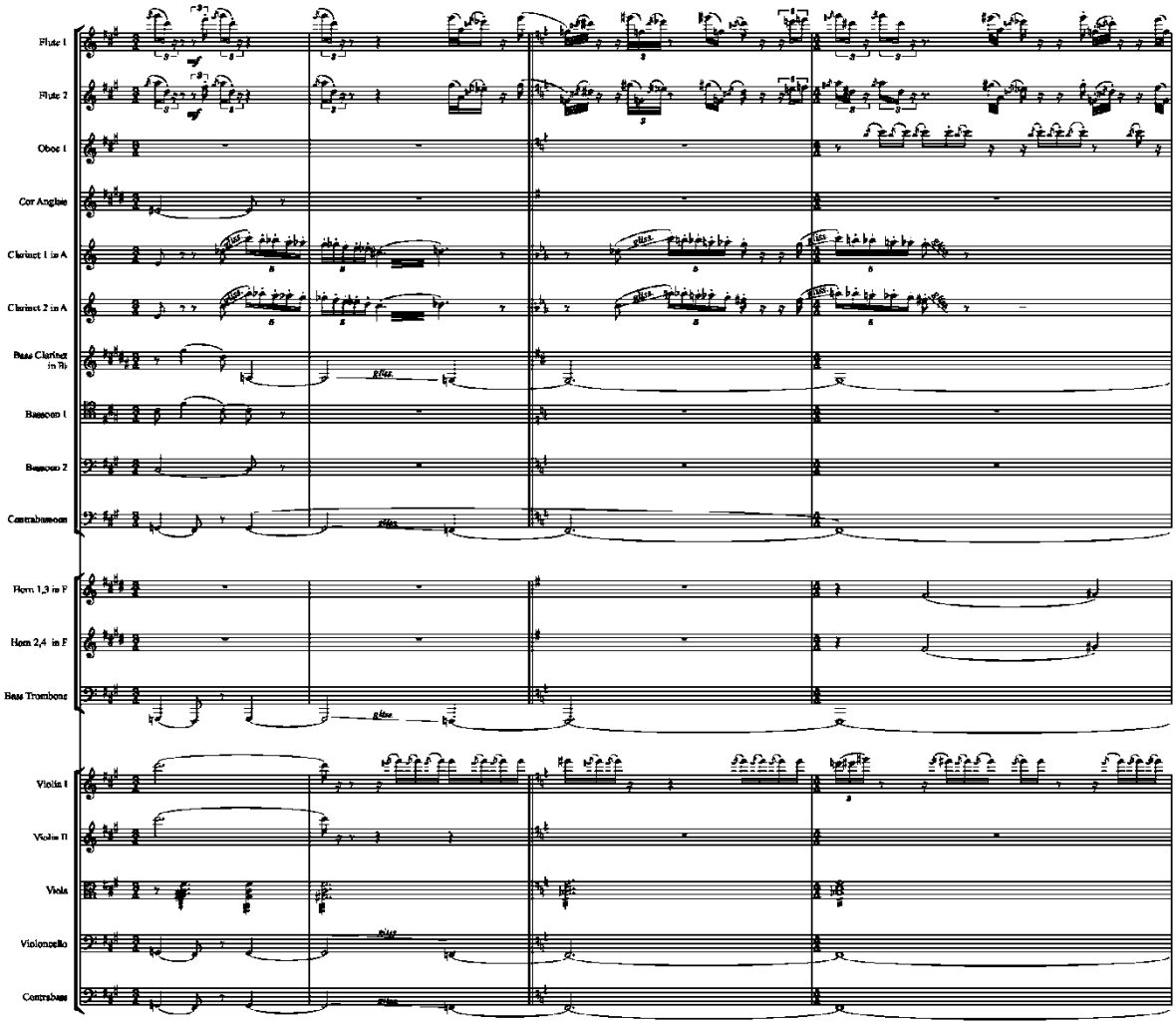
The sentiment of this statement can also be viewed as the basic premise behind *The Dawn is at Hand*; the work invites indigenous and non-indigenous Australians alike to reflect upon and never forget the past, but also to *live* in the present and look to the future with optimism.

The use of bird calls throughout the second movement is effective in capturing the scene of dawn in the Australian bush, as described in Walker's poetry, and is also the most obvious way that Williamson created a nexus to Australia, both in this movement and in the work as a whole. This is the same technique that he employed in other works composed specifically for Australia, such as *The Display* (1964) and *The True Endeavour* (1988), to create a firm association between his music and his homeland and to project his sense of national identity publicly. In fact, the bird calls that appear between the settings of the poems "Tree Grave" and "Dawn Wail for the Dead" bear a striking resemblance to those

[53] Kath Walker, *The Dawn is At Hand*, spoken introduction to cassette recording of premiere performance, 1989.

used in the opening passages of Williamson's score to *The Display* to represent the Laughing Kookaburra. Both examples, which are provided in Figure 7.9 and Figure 5.7 respectively, feature a brief ascending glissando followed by a fast descending chromatic run played by woodwind instruments (clarinets in *The Dawn is at Hand* and oboes in *The Display*) at the interval of a minor second apart. The similarity between the two examples implies that Williamson simply recycled the bird calls from *The Display* and re-used them in *The Dawn is at Hand*. These bird calls had the desired effect of conveying a sense of Australia in *The Display*, as discussed in Chapter 5, and therefore, it was entirely appropriate for Williamson to recall them in *The Dawn is at Hand*. In fact, for many listeners, the connection between the two compositions may even help to enhance and reinforce the Australian setting of *The Dawn is at Hand*.

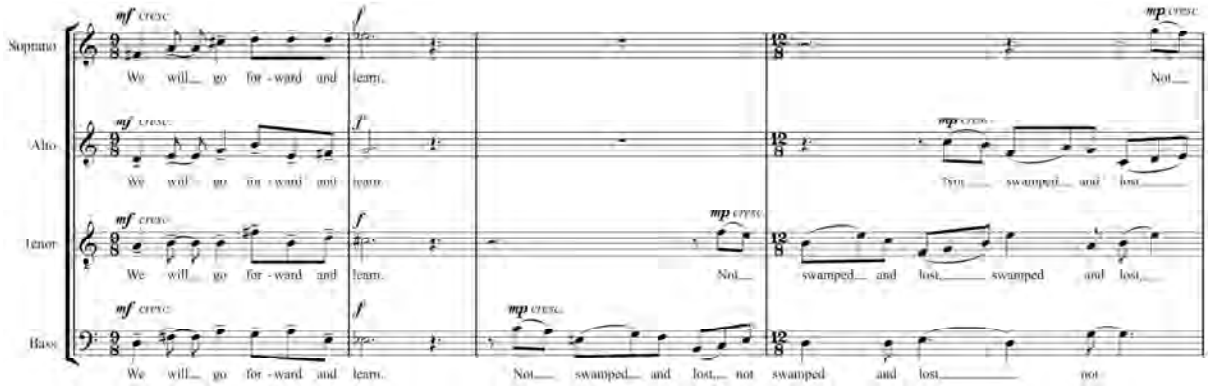
Figure 7.9 Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand*, second movement, bb. 137-40, bird calls.



The third and central movement of *The Dawn is at Hand* is a setting of a single poem, "Assimilation – No!," which expresses the anguish of an oppressed people. The sentiment of the whole poem is summed up in the lines of text that open and close the movement: "Pour your pitcher of wine into the wide river and where is your wine? There is only the river." In other words, if indigenous Australians are forced to assimilate with non-indigenous Australians it will be at the expense of their own cultural identity. Williamson's musical setting is again skilfully matched to Walker's text in this movement. For instance, Williamson set the text for chorus, without soloists, and in a mostly homorhythmic fashion (see Figure 7.10 bars 58-59); however, in the passage of text where Kath Walker expressed her fears that the cultural identity of her people may be "swamped

and lost," Williamson suddenly changed the style of the setting by staggering the entry of the voices, in the manner of a canon, so that the sound of the melody and words is "swamped" or blended (see Figure 7.10 bars 60-61).

Figure 7.10 Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand*, third movement, choral part, bb. 58-61.



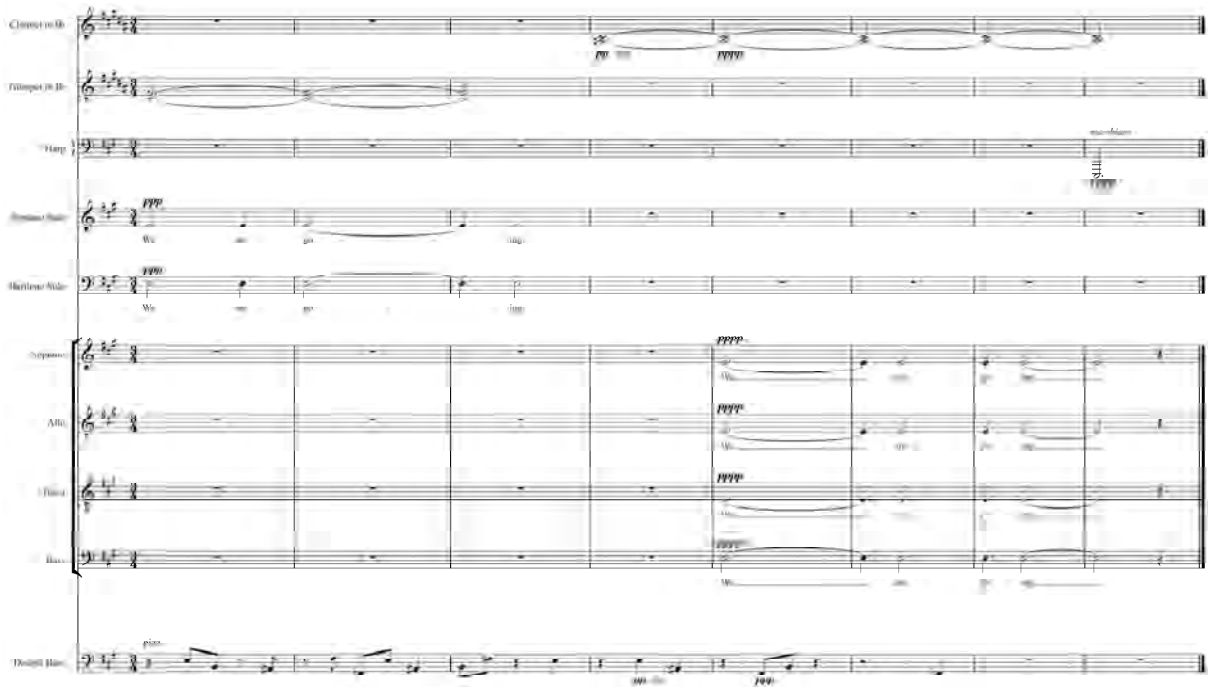
The fourth, penultimate movement of *The Dawn is at Hand* is also based on a single poem, "We are Going," which describes the journey of a tribe of indigenous Australians who visit a local town only to discover that an old sacred bora ground has been turned into a rubbish dump by non-indigenous Australians. The indigenous Australians contemplate how fragile their race has become since the invasion by European settlers:

> We are as strangers here now, but the white tribe are the strangers.
> We belong here, we are of the old ways . . . .
> We are nature and the past, all the old ways
> Gone now and scattered.
> The scrubs are gone, the hunting and the laughter.
> The eagle is gone, the emu and the kangaroo are gone from this place.
> The bora ring is gone.
> The corroboree is gone.
> And we are going.[54]

[54] Kath Walker quoted in Malcolm Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand (Symphony No. 8)* Full Score, 147-48, 160-67.

Williamson's setting of this poem includes a range of contrasting musical styles that support the ideas conveyed in the text. For example, the movement opens with march-like music that represents the indigenous Australians walking into the town, followed by a declamatory choral section marked by dissonance to evoke the sense of horror felt by the indigenous Australians upon their discovery of the disrespectful dumping of rubbish at what they considered to be a sacred site. The ending of the movement is particularly effective, as the words "we are going" are repeated quietly by the chorus and soprano and baritone soloists several times before gradually fading away (see Figure 7. 11). The gradual decrease in volume, along with the open spacing used between the voices, help to convey a sense of emptiness and leave the listener wondering if the phrase "we are going" extends beyond any superficial interpretation, such that the indigenous tribe described in the poem is simply about to leave the bora ground or the town temporarily, to imply that all that is left of indigenous culture, its people, places and rituals, is at risk of "going" away permanently. The sense of sadness and regret evoked in this passage of music is in complete alliance with the mood of the text and also reflects Williamson's personal anguish over the suffering endured by indigenous Australians at the hands of European settlers.

Figure 7.11 Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand*, fourth movement, bb. 150-57.



The fifth and final movement features two poems that contemplate the injustices of the past but simultaneously look to the future with optimism. "United We Win" begins by describing indigenous Australians as "fringe-dwellers" and a "dying race," before adopting a more positive tone which looks to a future filled with "happy days" and "mateship," now that the "good white hand [has] stretched out to grip the black."[55] The musical setting of "United We Win" opens with a long orchestral introduction that recalls several themes heard previously in other movements, aptly helping to "unite" and unify the themes of the work. When the chorus enters with the text, the music proceeds in a sombre and somewhat cautionary vein and although it becomes more consonant as the text takes a positive spin, the harmonic tension is not fully resolved until the setting of the final poem, "A Song of Hope."

[55] Kath Walker quoted in Malcolm Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand (Symphony No. 8)* Full Score, 192-93, 200, 203-4.

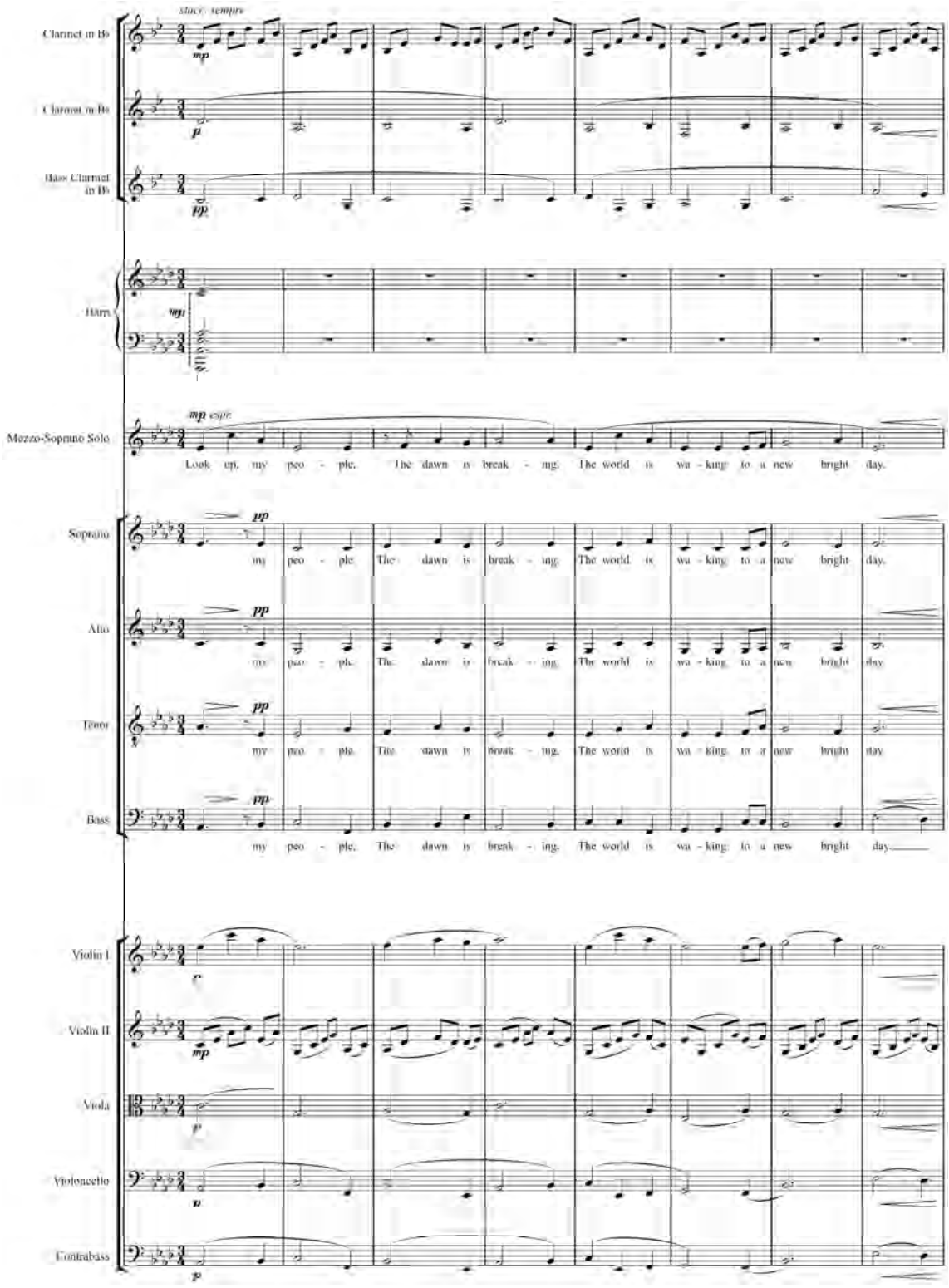
"A Song of Hope" is arguably the most poignant text that appears in *The Dawn is at Hand*, revealing the hopes of an oppressed people for a future marked by peace, respect, unity and equal opportunity, and Williamson set the poem with the care and sensitivity that it deserves. The opening lines of the poem serve as a reminder of the "dawn" theme that opened the first movement of *The Dawn is at Hand*:

> Look up, my people,
> The dawn is breaking,
> The world is waking
> To a new bright day.
> When none defame us
> No restriction tame us,
> Nor colour shame us
> Nor sneer dismay.[56]

Williamson set this poem to music in the major mode, beginning with the key of A-flat major (see Figure 7.12). This consonant and completely tonal setting provides a strong contrast to the previous movements of *The Dawn is at Hand* and helps to emphasise the optimistic mood of the text that it accompanies, which projects the poet and composer's shared hope for a united Australia.

[56] Kath Walker quoted in Malcolm Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand (Symphony No. 8)* Full Score, 222-24.

Figure 7.12 Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand*, fifth movement, bb. 295-302.



As Figure 7.12 demonstrates, the text of "A Song of Hope" is set for mezzo-soprano solo and chorus initially; however, when the movement builds to a climax in the final stanza

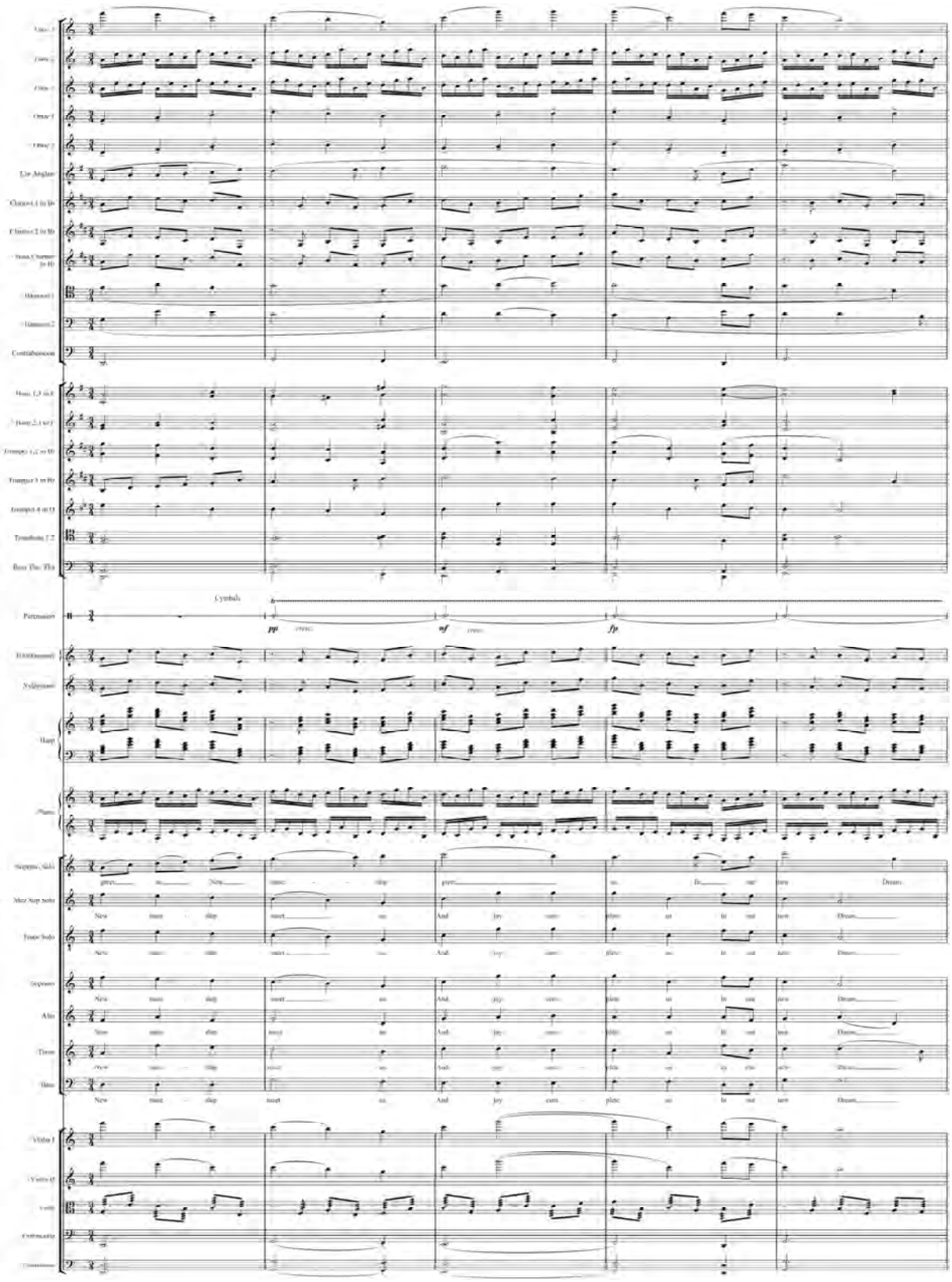
(see Figure 7.13 below), the full chorus and all soloists except for the baritone enter to proclaim the following text:

Night's nearly over
And though long the climb
New rights will greet us
New mateship meet us
And joy complete us
In our new Dream Time.[57]

As can be seen in Figure 7.13 below, the music that accompanies this text features the solo soprano voice soaring above the other parts, creating poignant suspensions and reaching new melodic heights; bringing the movement and work as a whole to a rousing and triumphant climax.

[57] Kath Walker quoted in Malcolm Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand (Symphony No. 8)* Full Score, 231-34.

Figure 7.13 Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand*, fifth movement, bb. 363-67.



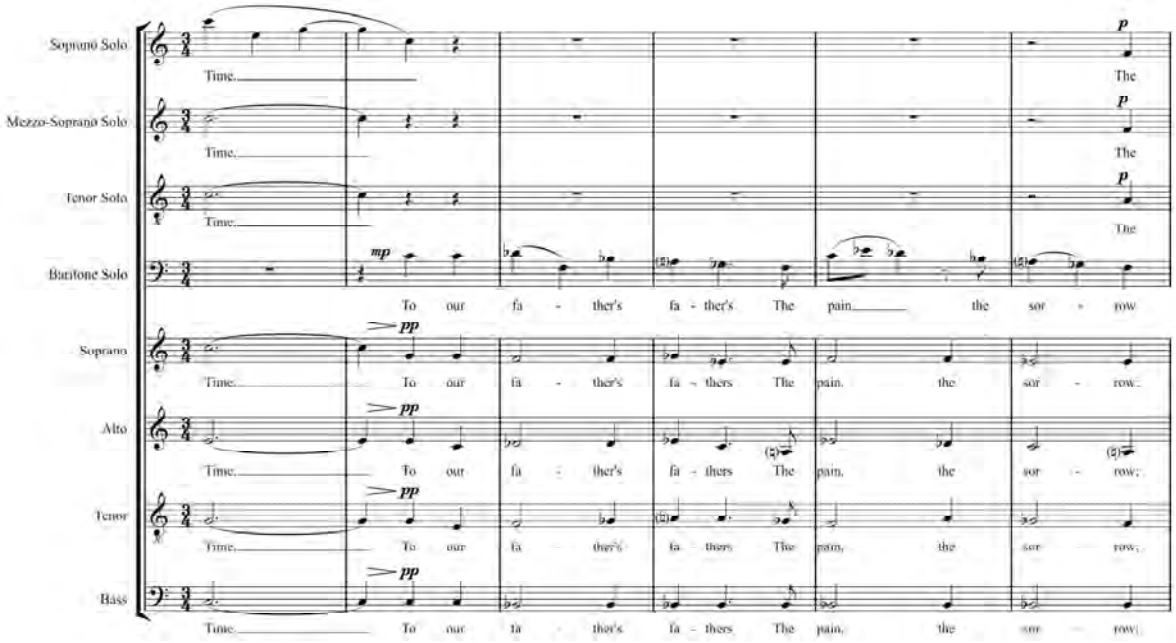
This is not the last word, however, as a final passage for solo baritone and chorus brings the work to an unexpectedly tranquil and contemplative close (see Figures 7.14 and 7.15). The sentiment of the entire composition is summarised in the final words of the text:

> To our father's fathers,
> The pain, the sorrow;
> To our children's children,
> The glad tomorrow.[58]

In other words, the indigenous Australians will never forget the pain suffered by their ancestors – they will always "wail for the dead" – but simultaneously, they hope and believe that a brighter future is in store for the next generations. Williamson's setting of these words is carefully matched to the text once again, confirming that he felt a deep affinity with Walker's poetry and a responsibility to set it as sensitively and faithfully as possible. The minor mode appears very briefly and for the first time in the setting of "A Song of Hope" to underpin the feeling of sadness inherent in the words "To our father's fathers, The pain, the sorrow." As is evident in Figure 7.14 below, the key centre changes from C major to B-flat minor at the beginning of this phrase of text (bars 369-70) and in addition, the word "sorrow" is appropriately set to a descending sighing figure in the baritone voice (bar 373), which helps to convey its sombre meaning.

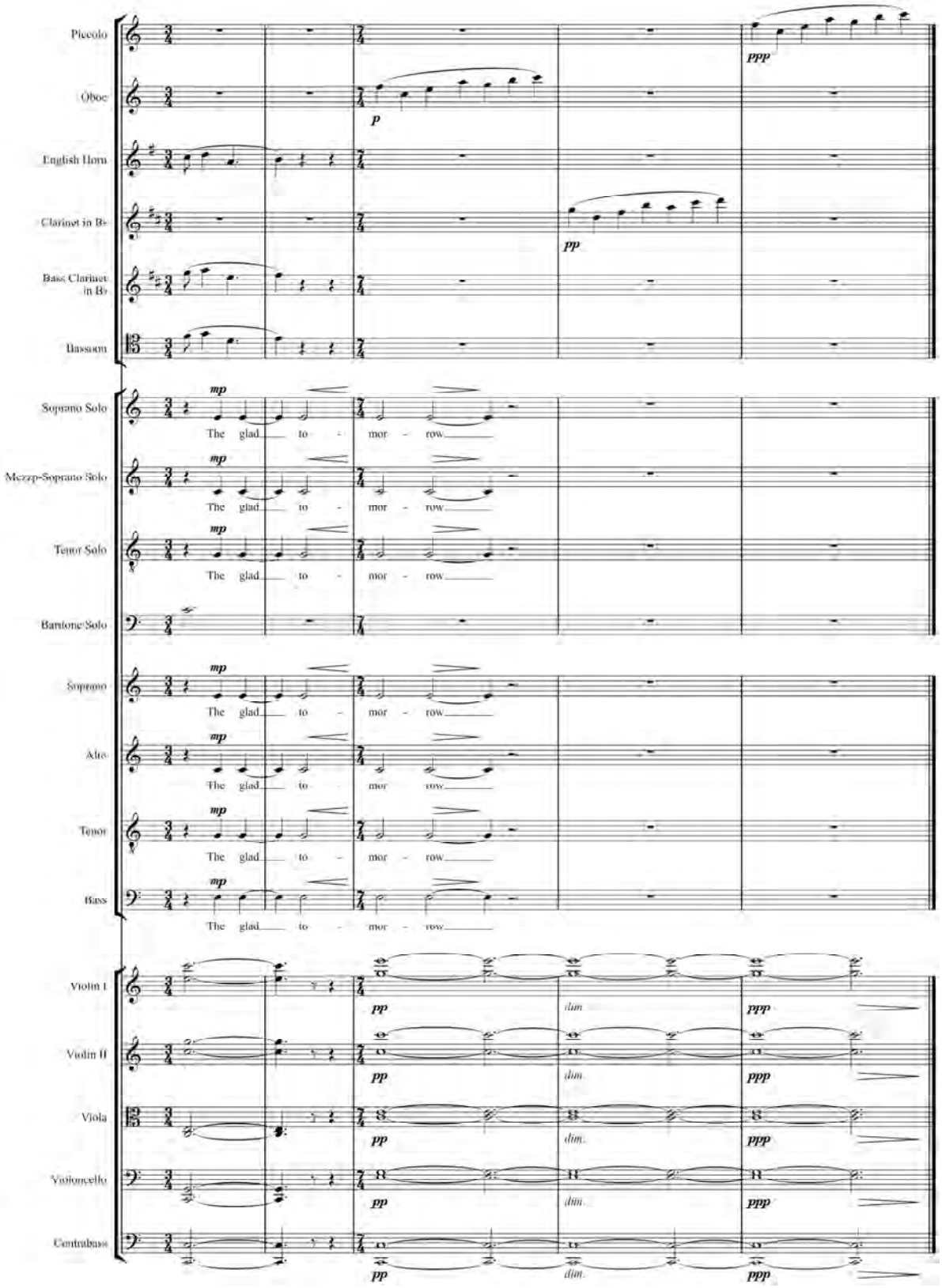
[58] Kath Walker quoted in Malcolm Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand (Symphony No. 8)* Full Score, 234-36.

Figure 7.14 Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand*, fifth movement, bb. 368-73.



With the setting of the final words of text, "To our children's children, The glad tomorrow," which are uttered by the chorus and three upper solo voices, the music suddenly modulates back to C major, giving the work a sense of resolution (see Figure 7.15).

Figure 7.15 Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand*, fifth movement, bb. 381-85.



As can be seen in Figure 7.15, the work closes with three quiet repetitions of a brief rising-crotchet melody from the wind instruments (bars 383-85). This seven-note motive was

heard at the very outset of the work and given its gradually-rising shape and its appearance at both the beginning and end of the work, it can be assumed that this melodic figure is representative of the theme of "dawn" that underpins the poetry explored in the composition. The reappearance of this motive at the conclusion of the work helps to unify the composition musically and also invites the listener to reflect on the meaning of the whole composition, as a work which conveys, in Williamson's words, "the pleading of a desolate, underprivileged people . . . [which ultimately leads to] optimism and the triumph of a united Australia."[59]

The Dawn is at Hand is a deeply moving tribute to indigenous Australia and a work through which Williamson was able to project a sense of his national identity; however, while his setting of Walker's text is always sympathetic to its meaning, he deliberately avoided using any references to traditional Aboriginal music or instruments in his setting. He explained the reasons behind this in interviews held in 1989:

> I write in *my* language, [Kath Walker] writes in hers. [Our collaboration on *The Dawn is at Hand*] is a marriage of the two cultures in our different ways. I am certainly not going to affect didgeridoos or Aboriginal drummings or other things like that because they are not in my tradition, my culture . . . . With words and music the two things intermarry and the two traditions intermarry . . . .[60]
>
> It was part of my intention – with Kath's agreement – that this should be an artistic marriage of the old race and the newer race.[61]

It is particularly appropriate that Williamson avoided replicating the unique sounds of Aboriginal music in this work considering that one of the main themes explored in the text is the idea of preventing assimilation in the hope of preserving what is left of the cultural

[59] Williamson quoted in Elise Johnston, "My Country, Black or White."
[60] Malcolm Williamson, *The Dawn is At Hand*, spoken introduction to cassette recording of premiere performance, 1989.
[61] Williamson quoted in Elise Johnston, "My Country, Black or White."

identity of an ancient and long-marginalised race. By choosing to write in his own musical language in *The Dawn is at Hand*, Williamson maintained a degree of separation between Kath Walker's cultural identity and his own and in doing so, demonstrated his respect for indigenous culture.

Williamson had by this time written several works based on humanitarian issues and he hoped that his collaboration with an indigenous Australian poet on *The Dawn is at Hand* would inspire other Australian composers to set texts by indigenous Australian writers and encourage all Australians to reflect on the welfare of the first Australians.[62] He conveyed these thoughts in an interview held on the eve of the premiere of *The Dawn is at Hand* in October 1989:

> I think there is an inner satisfaction because of the collaboration with a great Australian poet who is Aboriginal . . . . Whatever the merits of my work, I hope other people will be that more conscious of the curious historical dilemma that we have inherited, and that other composers will want to set poems by Aboriginal people to music . . . . As the world becomes more and more a global village, there is less room for prejudice, insularity and parochialism . . . .[63]

The strong messages of social inclusion inherent in this statement, and in the literary themes presented in *The Dawn is at Hand*, are yet another reflection of Williamson's inclusive philosophy. Not all Australians, however, responded favourably to Williamson's forthright and public assertion of these ideas, particularly at a time when the celebration of two hundred years of "white" conquest and progress in Australia was still so fresh in the public memory. According to the then director of the Queensland State and Municipal Choir, Kevin Power, who was the chorus master at the premiere of *The Dawn is at Hand*, at least half of the choir refused to participate in the performance of the work because of its

[62] Williamson quoted in Elise Johnston, "My Country, Black or White."
[63] Williamson quoted in Elise Johnston, "My Country, Black or White."

confronting subject matter and so at the last minute, replacement singers had to be found.[64] Power also recalls that one singer was so irate upon viewing the setting of Kath Walker's text that she actually threw the score at him in disgust.[65] Dobbs Franks, who conducted the Queensland Symphony Orchestra for the premiere of the work, has also shared similar stories, declaring on one occasion, "Kath was a tough cookie . . . and many white people didn't like her work at all."[66]

Despite any animosity towards Walker or her poetry from some non-indigenous Australians, Williamson's *The Dawn is at Hand* was very well received by the audience at its premiere performance in Brisbane on 20 October 1989,[67] as the composer later recalled:

> At the first performance of *The Dawn is at Hand* to a crowded house in Brisbane Concert Hall with the full panoply of soloists, chorus and orchestra Kath and I unwittingly made history. Never before had an Aboriginal poet and a Caucasian composer collaborated in so vast a work. We stood together holding hands in the royal box to acknowledge deafening applause which seemed to last almost the length of the work . . . .[68]

Williamson was right; he was the first non-indigenous Australian composer to collaborate with an indigenous Australian poet on a large-scale choral work, and it was even more significant that this work was based on themes pertaining to the mistreatment of indigenous Australians at the hands of non-indigenous Australians. Williamson was immensely proud of his collaboration with Kath Walker and viewed the end product as "something essentially Australian."[69] Through *The Dawn is at Hand*, he projected an image of himself as an active and impassioned supporter of the plight of indigenous

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[64] Kevin Power to Carolyn Philpott, personal conversation, 27 October 2008.
[65] Kevin Power to Carolyn Philpott, personal conversation, 27 October 2008.
[66] Dobbs Franks quoted in Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 457.
[67] The premiere performance was given by the Queensland State and Municipal Choir and the Queensland Symphony Orchestra conducted by Dobbs Franks at the Concert Hall, QPAC, Brisbane.
[68] Malcolm Williamson, introduction to Kath Walker, *The Dawn is at Hand: Poems*, 14.
[69] Malcolm Williamson, *The Dawn is At Hand*, spoken introduction to cassette recording of premiere performance, 1989.

Australians[70] and at the same time, re-confirmed his own identity as an Australian composer who was actively working in and for his homeland. His Australian identity was also displayed just as overtly in the attire that he chose to wear to the premiere performance of *The Dawn is at Hand*; a specially-made jumper emblazoned with the red, black and yellow of the Aboriginal flag.[71] This was a bold political and fashion statement which in itself gained the attention of local and international media.[72]

On the whole, the successful premiere of *The Dawn is at Hand* seems to have given Williamson's confidence and public profile a significant boost. Shortly after the premiere in Brisbane, he travelled to Melbourne to be awarded the prestigious Bernard Heinze Award (1989) and it is obvious from his acceptance speech that he was feeling very optimistic about his relationship with Australia at this time. He did not miss the opportunity, however, to reaffirm his Australian identity publicly and in the process, redress those who had criticised him for living abroad for so many years:

> I am more proud than I can say that I can *flout* those people who say I am an expatriate! I am obliged to live in Great Britain because I have the honour of being part of the royal household of Great Britain. I am nonetheless very much an Australian and this wonderful honour reaffirms my lifelong Australian identity.[73]

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[70] Williamson's support for the plight of Australia's indigenous population is obvious in his introduction to Kath Walker's collection of poems *The Dawn is at Hand: Poems*, published by Marion Boyars in 1992, in which he states, "After the unbroken nomadic democracies of near enough 100,000 years lived in the reflection of their eternity, the Dreaming, there came, a mere two centuries ago, a crude and cruel eruption for which ignorance alone can be blamed. The infant civilization of Europe bore south to lasso what was imagined to be a vast and vacant continent. Innocence was lost. Coffin ships came bearing gifts of alcohol, lying and disease hitherto undreamed of in the Dreaming. The Aborigines gazed on the white interlopers in wonder; the Europeans responded with aggression traditional to their survival culture. Mystifyingly, two centuries later, white supremacy and near eradication of the world's oldest extant culture are celebrated. A wiser age, still awaited, might have attempted a pluralistic culture and ethnicity. One such culture could have tilted the world on its axis." Malcolm Williamson, introduction to Kath Walker, *The Dawn is at Hand: Poems*, 9.

[71] Greg Roberts, "And Now to Settle a Royal Score, by Malcolm Williamson."

[72] This was not the first time that Williamson had worn a jumper with the Aboriginal flag upon it to a public performance of one of his works. In August of the Australian bicentennial year, 1988, he informed his mother that he had worn a jumper with the Aboriginal flag on it on the stage at the Proms following a performance of the suite from his opera *Our Man in Havana* and this news had been reported world wide. He wrote, "Now lots of people want one!" Malcolm Williamson, Hertfordshire, to Bessie Williamson, Australia, 22 August 1988, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson.

[73] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 458.

Unfortunately, Williamson's heightened enthusiasm for Australia was only short-lived. Despite all his hard work on his two big tributes to indigenous Australia, *The Dawn is at Hand* was not given another performance in his lifetime and *The True Endeavour* is still yet to receive a first performance. Williamson's frustration at the lack of interest in these works in Australia was expressed in the many letters that he wrote on the subject to his mother, Bessie, and sisters, Marion and Diane.[74] He was particularly disheartened by the fact that neither work had been broadcast by the ABC, as he conveyed to Diane through a letter:

> I take it ill that my two biggest choral works have not been done nationally by the ABC while that bloody War Requiem gets done and done . . . . I can scarcely say Thank you for that to the land of our birth! Kath Walker was with me with *The Dawn is at Hand* in Brisbane and it was historic for several reasons.[75]

It is understandable that Williamson was disappointed that his two highly-original "protest"[76] works, as he referred to them, were not given much of a public airing at a time when their potent messages could have had maximum impact; during the years immediately following the Australian Bicentenary. What is particularly impressive about these two compositions is that they express Williamson's personal viewpoint on indigenous Australian history mediated through the words of a non-indigenous Australian, Manning Clark, *and* an indigenous Australian, Kath Walker. In other words, these two works provide perspectives on issues affecting indigenous Australians from representatives of both cultures and ultimately, they share the same argument. Although *The True Endeavour* and *The Dawn is at Hand* have not made it into the common choral repertoire, probably as a result of their confronting themes, both works created quite a stir at the time of composition and undoubtedly would have contributed to the increased discussion of

[74] Available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson, National Library of Australia MS Acc04/159.
[75] Malcolm Williamson, Hertfordshire, to Diane Williamson, Australia, 22-23 July 1994, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson.
[76] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 439.

indigenous issues that occurred as a by-product of the Bicentennial celebrations.[77] Regardless of the individual merits of each work, it seems that this was Williamson's *true* endeavour for the Bicentenary; to write works that encourage all Australians, indigenous and non-indigenous, to reflect upon and acknowledge the mistakes of the past two hundred years and to recognise the importance of creating a peaceful and accepting Australia, united by a common understanding and shared goals.[78]

Due to his declining health, Williamson only composed a dozen more works after fulfilling his bicentennial commissions.[79] Two of the works composed since 1988 also have connections to indigenous Australia through their dedications to Kath Walker and her son, Vivian (also known as Kabul of the Tribe Noonuccal), with whom Williamson became closely associated during the composition of *The Dawn is at Hand*.[80] *Ceremony for Oodgeroo* (1988) is a brief work for brass quintet that was written for performance on the occasion of the conferring of the degree of Doctor of Letters Honoris Causa on Kath Walker by Macquarie University.[81] The work is divided into three parts: "Introduction and Processional Entry," "Two Fanfares: Prelude to the Dissertation and Postlude to the

[77] The Australian Bicentennial Authority consistently used language that reflected its concerns about upsetting indigenous Australians and their supporters. Despite attempts to pre-empt or mute Aboriginal protests, Australia's bicentennial year saw continued activism, boycotts and increased discussion of Aboriginal issues. Lyn Spillman, *Nation and commemoration*, 102-3. As an expatriate, it would not have been surprising for Williamson to have been accused of being out-of-touch with issues facing contemporary Australia; however, looking at the extent to which non-indigenous Australians supported Aboriginal protests during the bicentennial year, as discussed earlier in this Chapter, it seems that Williamson was well-aware of the social and political attitudes of the times. It seems, therefore, that the reasons his bicentennial works did not attract much interest were instead related to the fact that they were not performed during the bicentennial year itself and because the messages contained within them were simply too confronting to many non-indigenous Australians who wished to look to the future rather than reflect on the injustices of the past.

[78] According to Roderic Dunnett, the themes explored in *The Dawn is at Hand* "underline [the composer's] own deeper yearnings and aspirations for the homeland from which he ventured forth . . . ." Roderic Dunnett, "Malcolm Williamson," in *Contemporary Composers*, ed. Brian Morton and Pamela Collins (London: St James Press, 1992), 969.

[79] See Appendix B for more information.

[80] Williamson met Vivian whilst visiting Kath Walker on Stradbroke Island to request her permission to set her poems in *The Dawn is at Hand*. Sarah Harris, "Queen's Composer Still Maintains Political Rage," *The Mercury*, 15 October 1992, 23. The final work that Williamson composed for Australia was an abstract work, String Quartet No. 3 (1993), a single-movement work which was written for the Australian String Quartet and premiered by them on 19 February 1994.

[81] Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue," 47.

Dissertation" and "Recessional;" however, there are no musical elements employed in the work that could be recognised as distinctively "Australian."

In *Requiem for a Tribe Brother* (1992), on the other hand, Williamson created a strong link to indigenous Australia by evoking the sounds of the didgeridoo in parts of the musical setting.[82] *Requiem for a Tribe Brother* for chorus a cappella was written in response to Vivian Walker's premature death in 1991. Williamson was deeply fond of Vivian, whom he once described as "an immensely gifted playwright and an eloquent spokesman for the rights of his people,"[83] and Vivian reciprocated Williamson's affection by honouring him with the title of "tribe brother," which in Aboriginal culture means that they will be united after death in the "Dreaming."[84] As Williamson had done in *The True Endeavour*, he incorporated texts from the Latin Requiem Mass into *Requiem for a Tribe Brother* and also used the male voice to conjure the sound of the drone of the didgeridoo; the direct reference to indigenous Australian music obviously not troubling him in this instance as it had in his setting of *The Dawn is at Hand*, perhaps because the *Requiem* was not the product of a direct collaboration with an indigenous Australian.[85] It can be assumed that Williamson made use of the text of the Latin Requiem Mass in *Requiem for a Tribe Brother* for the same reason that he did in *The True Endeavour*, that is, because he wanted to base the work within his own tradition. In fact, it is interesting to note that *Requiem for a Tribe Brother* is one of several works, including Symphony No. 6, *The True Endeavour* and the McAuley works from early 1960s, that combines a sense of Australia with a religious and specifically Christian element.

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[82] The score of *Requiem for a Tribe Brother* is yet to be published, although Simon Campion intends to make it available commercially in the near future through Campion Press. Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal conversation, February 2010.
[83] Malcolm Williamson, "Requiem for a Tribe Brother" [program note], 28 August 1992, available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson.
[84] Sarah Harris, "Queen's Composer Still Maintains Political Rage."
[85] *Requiem for a Tribe Brother* is in nine parts: "Requiem aeternam," "Kyrie," "Domine Jesu Christe," "Pie Jesu," "Sanctus and Benedictus," "Agnus Dei," "Lux aeterna," "Libera me" and "In Paradisum." Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue," 33.

There are many possible reasons as to why Williamson wrote "Australian" works with religious connections. Perhaps it was simply because he was a deeply religious and spiritual person and he felt compelled to express this, even in the works he wrote for Australia, or maybe there is a more significant reason, such as that it was his way of showing praise and homage to Australia, as he had declared at the time of writing his Sixth Symphony. It is impossible to know the true answer to this now that Williamson is no longer alive; however, it is known that despite his commitment to Catholicism, he was deeply interested in understanding the beliefs and practices of those from other cultural backgrounds. As such, *Requiem for a Tribe Brother* was also inspired by Williamson's understanding of Aboriginal beliefs about life and death, as he explained in a program note:

> *Requiem for a Tribe Brother* is intended both for the concert hall and for liturgical use in this time of plague and pestilence . . . . The music contains elements of Aboriginal music folded into my personal style. More broadly, I have tried to reflect both the personal sense of loss in a troubled world and the optimism felt by the Aboriginal people when one of their number goes into the eternal Dreaming.[86]

Requiem for a Tribe Brother is one of the largest unaccompanied choral works that Williamson composed and it has enjoyed considerable success, particularly in London, where it was first performed by the local choral group, Joyful Company of Singers, to critical acclaim in 1992.[87] The same choir performed the work at Williamson's funeral

[86] Malcolm Williamson, "Requiem for a Tribe Brother" [program note], 28 August 1992; available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson.

[87] *Requiem for a Tribe Brother* is approximately thirty minutes in duration. It was commissioned by the Joyful Company of Singers with funds provided by the Holst Foundation and premiered on 11 October 1992 at St John's, Smith Square, London, by Peter Broadbent and the Joyful Company of Singers. The liturgical premiere took place on 24 November 1992 at Our Lady of Victories, London, again performed by Peter Broadbent and the Joyful Company of Singers. Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue," 33.

eleven years later and has since recorded it for the label NAXOS, which has helped to project it to an even larger audience.[88]

As the examination of Williamson's Australian compositions from the early 1960s to the early 1990s has revealed, the composer's personal construct of "Australianness" and projection of an Australian identity evolved over time. Gradually, both of these elements increasingly became tied to, and motivated by, the composer's political ideals, which were almost always concerned with the welfare of minority groups that had been marginalised or segregated from mainstream society, such as immigrants to Australia and the country's indigenous population. Isolation from society was something that Williamson had encountered first hand, as an expatriate and an outsider in the societies of both Britain and Australia. Although he was extremely successful in Britain during the late 1950s and 1960s, as his popularity began to decline there in the late 1970s and 1980s, he began to look to his homeland more frequently for work purposes and to find a sense of belonging and acceptance. Alongside his search for a place to "fit in," he adopted an inclusive philosophy towards the arts and towards society in general and expressed his belief in the value of egalitarianism through his music and through his political views, which he projected publicly on numerous occasions.

Williamson's concern for the plight of Australia's indigenous population was first expressed publicly during the 1970s and was intensified by his involvement in the Australian bicentennial celebrations of 1988. The composer had frequently participated in debates over various humanitarian issues in other countries in the past, using his music and public voice to express his disdain, and on this occasion, his disapproval of the celebration of two hundred years of "white" progress in his homeland saw him use his music as a

[88] Malcolm Williamson, *Malcolm Williamson Choral Music*, Joyful Company of Singers, Peter Broadbent, NAXOS 8.557783, 2006.

vehicle for supporting the stand for Aboriginal rights. No doubt, the composer felt an affinity with indigenous Australians because like them, he had at times felt marginalised by "white" Australians and often felt pressured to conform to their expectations in order to be accepted. In fact, when asked in an interview for *The Musical Times* in 1991 whether he still felt a connection with the country of his birth, Williamson exclaimed, "Oh yes! But mostly with the Aboriginal people,"[89] which seems to attest to this argument. His friendship with Kath Walker and her son Vivian, which arose out of the collaboration on *The Dawn is at Hand*, also inspired him to take a stand on indigenous issues and to write other works with connections to indigenous Australia.

It is apparent from Williamson's works, *The True Endeavour* and *The Dawn is at Hand*, that he viewed indigenous Australians as the "first" Australians and the "true" Australians, and perhaps saw their musical traditions and literature as means through which he could create a distinctively Australian national identity, as Peter Sculthorpe, George Dreyfus and other white Australian composers had attempted to do several years before him. It is certainly the case that Williamson believed that it was through an acceptance of his country's indigenous past that he could forge his own unique musical voice and have a chance at "disturb[ing] the language of music in the Western world,"[90] as discussed previously in Chapters 3 and 6, and it seems that he attempted to do this in these works. While he often aimed for his music to "disturb and get under the skin and prod at preconceptions,"[91] the political statements he made through works such as *The Dawn is at Hand* and *The True Endeavour* were not just intended to stir controversy and court publicity. Rather, as he once stated, all his music was designed to "teach on different

[89] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Chris de Souza, "The Right Question," *The Musical* Times 132: 1785 (November 1991): 563.
[90] Williamson, "A Composer's Heritage," *Composer* (Spring 1966), 71-72.
[91] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Phillip Truckenbrod, "Aussie Composer Writes for Multi-Faceted Man," *Music in Jersey*, no date given, available from Josef Weinberger archive, London; accessed June 2006.

levels;"[92] some through the introduction of specific musical concepts, such as seen in the *Travel Diaries* and the cassations, and others through the exploration of moral, ethical or social themes that he believed were relevant at the time. Therefore, it can be concluded that *The Dawn is at Hand* and *The True Endeavour* were intended to teach Australian audiences to be more aware of their country's indigenous past and to be more culturally sensitive when celebrating controversial events such as the bicentenary of European settlement in Australia.

Likewise, Williamson's projection of an Australian identity was not simply driven by his desire to attract publicity, but rather, it was a response to the feelings of statelessness that he had experienced as an expatriate and, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, it was also related to his desire to return to Australia to live permanently, as letters he wrote to his family from this period indicate.[93] This last point perhaps explains the sheer number and size of the works that he wrote for Australia during the five-year period 1988-1993. Collectively, these works project a strong sense of Australian identity and Williamson achieved this through a variety of means. Some of these compositions draw on the same devices that Williamson had employed in previous works to create links to Australia, such as the use of bird calls to make reference to the Australian natural environment, the setting of texts by significant Australian writers, the use of titles that carry associations with Australia and references to the sound of the didgeridoo, which Williamson had used twenty-five years earlier in his setting of James McAuley's poem "Terra Australis" in *Symphony for Voices* (1960-62). Other works take inspiration from sources new to Williamson, including the literary works of indigenous poet Kath Walker, and other traditional instruments of indigenous Australia, such as percussive wooden sticks. Regardless of the motivations behind their composition, these works were successful in

[92] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Phillip Truckenbrod.
[93] Available from Papers of Malcolm Williamson, National Library of Australia MS Acc04/159.

expressing Williamson's national identity and his views towards Australia at that time. They were also works through which he was able to reconnect with his homeland after almost forty years living abroad.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

To the day of my death I shall be in spirit, an Australian.[1]

– Malcolm Williamson

As the foregoing chapters have revealed, Malcolm Williamson projected an Australian identity in his musical output and public persona for the duration of his career abroad. This is evident in the sheer number and scale of the musical works that he composed for Australia, particularly in the years between 1960 and 1993, and also in the public statements he made in interviews with the Australian press, which re-affirmed his "lifelong Australian identity."[2] He was one of many Australian creative artists who relocated to England after World War II, yet few expatriates achieved his level of success or aroused as much controversy in the British and Australian press. Although the importance of Williamson's role in British music during the late 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s is generally acknowledged in the literature, recognition of the extent of his involvement and influence in Australian music has previously been limited by the range and availability of primary and other sources relating to him and his work, especially his personal papers and manuscript scores which have only recently been made available to the Australian public.[3] Evidence of the limited appreciation of Williamson's contribution to music in Australia is perhaps no better illustrated than by the fact that there are very few comprehensive or credible sources available that refer to his Australian compositions, and prior to this study, there were no existing sources dedicated to exploring the significance of his projection of an Australian identity in his music and public persona.

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[1] Williamson quoted in Mark Baker, "Queen's Musick Master Comes Home for Festival," *The Age*, 4 November 1975, 2.
[2] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, *Malcolm Williamson: A Mischievous Muse* (London: Omnibus Press, 2007), 458.
[3] The most important collection of Williamson's papers to be made available to the public in recent years is Papers of Malcolm Williamson, National Library of Australia MS Acc04/159.

Several important issues have been addressed in this thesis. Firstly, a comprehensive list of works that Williamson composed for Australia was compiled (as shown in Appendix A) in order to demonstrate that the composer maintained an active interest in Australia and a relationship with his homeland despite the fact he chose to live abroad for so many years. Secondly, the works included in this list were discussed in detail to illustrate the various means by which the composer created a nexus between his music and a sense of Australia. Several of Williamson's "Australian" compositions have been explored for the first time in a scholarly work, including *Symphony for Voices*, *The Glitter Gang*, Symphony No. 7, *The True Endeavour* and *The Dawn is at Hand*. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, Williamson's views on Australia, his expatriate experience and his sense of Australian identity, as expressed in his private letters and public interviews, have been documented and evaluated in detail and compared to the opinions expressed by numerous other Australian expatriate creative artists on these topics in order to establish that Williamson's experience was not especially unique, but rather, it was greatly influenced by the prevailing *zeitgeist* as well as cultural attitudes towards Australian expatriates at home and abroad. Additionally, this research revealed that there is a wealth of previously unexploited information available – including personal letters, unpublished scores and recordings that are no longer available commercially – that may provide further opportunities for reassessments of Williamson's creative life and work. This information has helped to inform the compilation of the complete list of works provided in Appendix B, "Complete List of Malcolm Williamson's Works," and most significantly, it has provided insight into the works Williamson composed for Australia, the ways in which he attempted to project an Australian identity, his expatriate experience, his thoughts on his relationship with his homeland and his contribution to music in Australia.

It was revealed in the opening chapter that Williamson composed more than two dozen works for performance in Australia and/or based on Australian subjects. As the table included in Figure 8.1 below summarises, Williamson composed "Australian" works in a wide range of genres including choral, orchestral, concertante and chamber works, compositions for chorus and orchestra, solo piano, solo voice and piano, ballet and brass ensemble, as well as a "mini-opera" or "cassation." In fact, the only major genre to which he did not contribute a composition with an Australian connection was opera, and this is most likely related to the fact that Australia showed little to no interest in staging any of the major operas he had written for performance overseas; despite the fact that they had achieved outstanding success internationally.[4]

Figure 8.1 Williamson's "Australian" compositions listed according to genre.

Musical Genre	**Sub-Genre**	**Title of "Australian" Composition/s**
Stage	Ballet	*The Display* (1964) *Perisynthion* (1973-74)
	Cassation	*The Glitter Gang* (1973-74)
Orchestral	Symphony	Symphony No. 6 (1982) Symphony No. 7 (1984)
	Concerto	Piano Concerto No. 2 (1960) Piano Concerto No. 3 (1962) Concerto for Two Pianos and Strings (1972) Concerto for Harp and Strings (1973-76)
	Other Orchestral	*The Display* (Concert Suite, 1964) *In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze* (1982) *Lento for Strings* (1985) *Bicentennial Anthem* (1988)
Vocal	Choral	*Symphony for Voices* (1960-62) *An Australian Carol* (*Nativity*, 1963) *I Will Lift Up Mine Eyes* (1970) *Requiem for a Tribe Brother* (1992)
	Chorus and Orchestra	*A Pilgrim Liturgy* (1984) *The True Endeavour* (1988) *The Dawn is at Hand* (Symphony No. 8, 1989)
	Solo Voice and Piano	*Celebration of Divine Love* (1963)
Chamber	String Quartet	String Quartet No. 3 (1993)
	Brass Ensemble	*Adelaide Fanfare* (1973) *Canberra Fanfare* (1973) *Ceremony for Oodgeroo* (1988)
Solo Instrumental	Solo Piano	*Sydney* from *Travel Diaries* (1960-61)

[4] Peter Cole-Adams, "The Expatriates: Feted Abroad; Ignored at Home," *The Age*, 24 June 1972, 10. Ken Healey, "Neglect of Our Major Opera Writer," *Opera Australia* (May 1988).

It has also been shown that Williamson's "Australian" compositions were written in a variety of styles and for a range of different purposes.[5] Some are purely abstract works that were written for performance in Australia and/or for Australian individuals or ensembles, such as the piano concertos and string quartet, while others are based on uniquely Australian subjects or texts, such as *The Display* and *The Dawn is at Hand*. Most of the "Australian" works are serious in character and several can be considered "major" works, including the score for *The Display*, the Sixth and Seventh symphonies, the concertos, and the choral works *The True Endeavour*, *The Dawn is at Hand* and *Requiem for a Tribe Brother*. Others, such as the *Sydney* book of *Travel Diaries* and the cassation *The Glitter Gang*, are lighter works written for the purpose of educating children and amateur musicians in the fundamentals of music theory and performance and designed to encourage people of all ages to participate in and enjoy making music.

Although Williamson's "Australian" works represent approximately one-tenth of his compositional output, it seems this proportion was limited by the number of commissions he received from Australia. As the collection of Williamson's letters at the National Library of Australia reveals, he relied on a steady flow of commissions for income and he was not in the financial position to be able to write works without receiving remuneration in return.[6] As a result, the number and type of works that he wrote for Australia were largely determined by the nature of the commissions he received from his homeland. Likewise, the number of times he returned to Australia and the length of each stay were restricted by the amount of funding he received from Australian commissioning bodies, cultural organisations and/or academic institutions. It is evident from his personal letters and recorded interviews that although Williamson found it humiliating to ask for funding

[5] As mentioned in previous chapters, Williamson also wrote several scores for Australian television and radio programs. Most of these were written prior to Williamson departing Australia for England in the early 1950s. Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue" (Hertfordshire: Campion Press, 2008), 52-53.

[6] Malcolm Williamson, Papers of Malcolm Williamson, National Library of Australia MS Acc04/159.

to visit Australia and write works for specific Australian events,[7] he did so often. Furthermore, almost every time he was offered work in Australia, he "dropped everything"[8] in order to travel back home. While most of Williamson's "Australian" works were commissioned by Australian individuals and/or organisations, it was not always stipulated by the commissioning bodies that he compose works based on Australian texts or subjects. The fact that he chose to do this on numerous occasions attests to the fact that he felt an affinity with Australian subjects, particularly Australian literature, history, the landscape and political issues. It also shows that he was concerned about projecting a distinctively Australian identity through his music.

As demonstrated in the survey of Williamson's music provided in Chapters 4 to 7 of this dissertation, the composer's personal construct of "Australianness" in music changed over time to reflect his experience as an expatriate, his perspective on various political issues affecting Australians, and also the direct influence of the Australian creative artists with whom he collaborated over the course of his career. Therefore, when considered as a group, the musical works discussed in detail in this study unveil Williamson's evolving sense of Australian identity. The first tangible signs that he was attempting to evoke a sense of national identity in his music appeared in the 1960s, when he wrote the first of many works based on Australian subjects and made the claim that his music was "characteristically Australian" despite any conscious attempt on his part to create an identifiably Australian style of composition.[9] Although Williamson denied the fact that he was intentionally creating a link between his music and a sense of Australia at this time, his use of Australian texts and/or titles in *Symphony for Voices*, *Celebration of Divine Love*, *An Australian Carol* and the *Sydney* book of *Travel Diaries*, all composed during the

[7] Williamson quoted in Janet Hawley, "Humiliated Composer Glad to Accept First Job Back Home," *The Australian*, 14 August 1973.
[8] Malcolm Williamson in Sarah Harris, "Queen's Composer Still Maintains Political Rage," *The Mercury* (Hobart), 15 October 1992, 23.
[9] Malcolm Williamson, "A Composer's Heritage," *Composer* (Spring 1966): 71.

first three years of the 1960s, suggests otherwise. In fact, by simply announcing to the media that his music was "characteristically Australian," it seems Williamson was deliberately trying to make the Australian press and public aware that he considered his music to be aligned with an Australian style or tradition.

It has been shown that Williamson initially relied primarily on the use of the written word – titles and texts – in his musical works to create associations with Australia. He set numerous texts by Australian writers, beginning with the verse of Australian poet James McAuley. For his choral composition *Symphony for Voices*, for example, Williamson set selected texts from two of McAuley's poetry collections that contain poetic evocations of the Australian landscape, *Under Aldebaran* and *A Vision of Ceremony*. He also carefully crafted each musical setting so that it supported the meaning of the text. As such, Williamson's setting of McAuley's poetry features vivid word-painting and the incorporation of a drone to suggest the sound of the didgeridoo in the setting of the poem "Terra Australis," which marks the first time that the composer made reference to an indigenous instrument in his music.

Williamson's use of titles to refer to specific Australian places was seen for the first time in the solo piano pieces published in the *Sydney* book of *Travel Diaries*. In addition to using titles to describe various aspects of his hometown of Sydney, Williamson employed a range of cleverly-designed musical gestures in these pieces to represent the topographical details of the places or landmarks described in each title, such as an arch-shaped palindromic figure to musically depict the iconic Harbour Bridge in the piece "Harbour Bridge."

It was revealed in Chapter 5 that Williamson drew on a range of other compositional devices to create a connection with Australia in his score for the ballet *The Display* in 1964. In this work, for the first time in his oeuvre, Williamson incorporated the calls of Australian bush birds, such the unique call of the kookaburra,[10] to link the ballet score to its Australian context. He also devised distinctive themes for each of the characters and groups of characters in the ballet, and this musical characterisation helped to convey the theme of gender segregation that is explored in the plot and is typical of Australian social gatherings. *The Display*'s unmistakably Australian subject-matter, combined with the fact that it was the product of a collaboration between three Australian creative artists, Helpmann, Nolan and Williamson, and written for the Australian Ballet to dance, helped to ensure that this project was, in Williamson's words, "quintessentially Australian."[11] Williamson's involvement in this successful all-Australian enterprise, even though it was from afar, helped to cement his stature not only as an Australian composer, but as a composer of distinctively Australian music.

In the mid-1960s, about the time that he was working on *The Display*, Williamson drew another strong parallel between his music and the country of his birth in an interview with the media, stating that most of his music is "Australian in origin" and influenced by the "brashness" that epitomises the Australian character, "the sort of brashness that makes Australians go through life pushing doors marked 'pull.'"[12] Williamson's personal letters and comments in recorded interviews, as examined in this study, are evidence of the fact that he possessed this characteristic in his own personality and he became known in both Australia and Britain for his forthright, impetuous and, at times, even tactless public

[10] In the ballet, the call of the kookaburra is mimicked by the lyrebird, "The Male."
[11] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Andrew Ford, "Dots on the Landscape: Episode 6, Comings and Goings," *ABC Classic FM*; recording available from http://www.abc.net.au/classic/dots/; Internet; accessed 6 June 2007. Williamson dedicated the score for *The Display* to the significant Australian conductor Sir Bernard Heinze, which strengthens the work's connection to Australia further.
[12] Williamson quoted in "Success for Australian Composer," *The West Australian*, 11 November 1966, 12.

comments and behaviour. In his musical writing, this manifested in what Paul Conway has described as "an ebullience and a directness . . . which sets him apart from most British composers."[13] This is true of Williamson's works generally, not only his works for Australia, and can be viewed as characteristic of his personal, individual musical language.

It has been established in this study that Williamson's projection of an Australian identity in his music and public persona gradually became increasingly politicised, shaped by his strong views on a variety of issues affecting Australians, including the apparent lack of government funding for the arts, the preservation of the natural environment and wildlife, and most significantly, the rights of indigenous Australians. This politicisation is apparent in the works he composed for Australia from 1970 onwards, as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. In these works, Williamson continued to use similar devices to those used previously to establish connections between his music and Australia, such as evocations of the Australian landscape and natural environment (as evident in Symphony No. 7, *The True Endeavour* and *The Dawn is at Hand*) and titles that refer to Australian places (such as *Canberra Fanfare* and *Adelaide Fanfare*) or even well-known Australian people (for example, *In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze* and *Ceremony for Oodgeroo*). It is obvious in the subject matter of these works that Williamson was gradually becoming increasingly concerned about problems affecting the lives of Australians of all ages and from all ethnic and social backgrounds. In the cassation *The Glitter Gang* (1973-74), for example, the composer expressed his awareness of the plight of Australia's indigenous population during colonial times, in the hope of making the younger generations aware of mistakes made in Australia's past.[14] The moving plot of this mini-opera, which Williamson wrote himself, is supported in the score by word painting and other dramatic

[13] Paul Conway, "Malcolm Williamson – A 70th Birthday Tribute," April 2001, available from http://www.musicweb-international.com/Williamson/index.htm; Internet; accessed 27 August 2008.
[14] Malcolm Williamson, *The Glitter Gang: A Cassation for Audience and Orchestra (Piano)* (London: Josef Weinberger, 1975).

effects, and features musical characterisation of the three groups of characters, "Australians," "Europeans" and "Outlaws." All of these elements help to enhance the action of this recognisably Australian storyline. In many ways, this work is a precursor to the large-scale "protest" works based on indigenous themes that Williamson composed for the Australian Bicentenary more than a decade later.

In the intervening years between writing *The Glitter Gang* and his indigenous-themed works for the Bicentenary, Williamson composed the two "Australian" symphonies through which he expressed his views on other Australian political conflicts, Symphony No. 6 (1982) and Symphony No. 7 (1984). It was explained in Chapter 6 that although Symphony No. 6 does not carry a politically-motivated subtext as such, Williamson used the work as a bargaining tool in his high-profile protest over the damming of the Franklin River in Tasmania. He gave the ABC an ultimatum, threatening to withdraw the work from broadcast unless the Commission supported him in his stand against what he viewed as a great act of vandalism against the natural environment.[15] He was so passionate about this cause that he used his public profile to bring media attention to the issue. Although he was pleased when the plans for the Franklin River dam were eventually withdrawn, by that stage his relationship with the ABC had suffered and the plight of one of his largest and most original works to date had been thrown into jeopardy; all a result of the manner in which he had engaged in this heated political debate. He did, however, use his moment in the media spotlight to re-affirm his Australian identity, announcing that as a "patriotic Australian," he had felt compelled to speak out about the issue.[16] The Sixth Symphony is also linked to Australia through its dedication to numerous people who have contributed to

[15] Williamson quoted in Laurie Strachan, "Franklin Stand Threatens ABC," *The Australian*, 21 February 1983, 3.
[16] Williamson quoted in Laurie Strachan, "Franklin Stand Threatens ABC."

Australian culture and through its unique status as a "transcontinental" symphony, written for all seven major Australian orchestras.

It was also demonstrated in Chapter 6 that the Seventh Symphony, which was written in close succession to the Sixth, expresses Williamson's viewpoint on another popular but controversial issue facing Australians during the 1980s: multiculturalism. Williamson conveyed his standpoint on this topic by writing a musical work that recognised the contribution of migrant cultures to the broader Australian (and specifically, Victorian) culture and that celebrated "unity in diversity,"[17] or in the composer's words, the "cross-pollination of the ethnic groups that has enriched Australian life . . . ."[18] Williamson achieved this by incorporating elements of Macedonian folkloric dance music into the second movement and by basing the final movement on a previously-composed piece which carries with it a pre-existing association to both Melbourne and multiculturalism. He also created a nexus to Australia in the Seventh Symphony by evoking aspects of the Australian landscape in the music of the first and third movements and by drawing inspiration for the "programme" of the first movement from Manning Clark's description of the life and times of iconic Australian outlaw Ned Kelly. These features help to reinforce the Australian character of the work and simultaneously create a link at another level between Williamson's music and his sense of Australian identity.

In the two large-scale works that Williamson composed for the Australian Bicentenary, *The True Endeavour* (1988) and *The Dawn is at Hand* (1989), it is particularly obvious that the composer's construct of "Australianness" had evolved further to reflect his political ideals. As stated in Chapter 7, Williamson had been an ardent supporter of Aboriginal rights for some years prior to the Bicentenary and had felt that it was completely

[17] Simon Campion, liner notes to *Red Leaves*, Brunel Ensemble, Cala Records CACD 77005 (1996).
[18] Malcolm Williamson quoted in liner notes to *Red Leaves*.

inappropriate and insensitive for non-indigenous Australians to celebrate two hundred years of "white conquest" and "supremacy" in 1988 when indigenous Australians were mourning the loss of many of their ancestors, their livelihoods and their innocence.[19]

Williamson turned his two high-profile commissions for the Bicentenary into what he described as "protest"[20] works; public statements of outrage at the mistreatment of indigenous Australians during the preceding two hundred years and prompted by his perception of the ongoing disregard for the rights and feelings of indigenous people in contemporary Australian society. Williamson expressed his viewpoint on these issues in his music through the words of two prominent Australian writers – one indigenous, one Caucasian – Kath Walker and Manning Clark, who ultimately shared the one vision for a united Australia, free from prejudice and ostracism. These ideals obviously resonated with Williamson, who also expressed his thoughts in his own words – rather than relying on music or the words of others to convey meaning – and articulated his personal hopes for a unified Australia, or in his words, a "pluralistic culture and ethnicity . . . [which has the potential to tilt] the world on its axis."[21] These were similar ideas to those raised several years earlier in Symphony No. 7, in which Williamson expressed his belief in the merits of multiculturalism, including the concepts of acceptance and inclusiveness and also the notion that different minority groups within the larger society are able to maintain their cultural differences. Williamson's awareness of how these issues impacted upon the lives of indigenous Australians had increased as a result of his friendship with Kath Walker, which developed in the mid to late 1980s when they collaborated on *The Dawn is at Hand*.

[19] Malcolm Williamson, introduction to Kath Walker, *The Dawn is at Hand: Poems*, (London: Marion Boyars, 1992), 10-13.
[20] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 439.
[21] Malcolm Williamson, introduction to Kath Walker, 9.

The deep affinity that Williamson felt with the writings of Kath Walker and Manning Clark is evident in the way he set their words to music, as addressed in detail in Chapter 7. In both *The Dawn is at Hand* and *The True Endeavour*, he employed a range of musical devices to capture the meaning inherent in the accompanying texts, as well as to create links between his music and the Australian natural environment and indigenous culture. For example, both works feature imitations of bird calls; seagulls in *The True Endeavour* and a variety of birds, including the curlew, in *The Dawn is at Hand*. The inclusion of a reference to the curlew in the score of *The Dawn is at Hand* is particularly appropriate considering the bird's connection to indigenous beliefs and this is one means through which Williamson created a nexus between his music and indigenous culture, and indeed, between his music and Australia in general.[22] This link is further intensified by Williamson's reuse of bird calls from the score for the ballet *The Display*, which itself has strong ties to Australia, within in the second movement of *The Dawn is at Hand*. For listeners familiar with Williamson's score for *The Display*, or the concert suite version, this borrowing helps to reinforce the "Australianness" of *The Dawn is at Hand* by association. The musical connections to Australia were developed even further in the score for *The True Endeavour*. In the second movement of *The True Endeavour*, for example, Williamson intentionally attempted to evoke a sense of the Australian landscape by incorporating "millions of notes" to represent the trees in Australian rainforests, in order to address the need for conservation of the local landscape and natural environment.[23] He also created a strong association between this work and indigenous Australia by employing sounds evocative of the traditional music of many indigenous tribes, including the drone of the didgeridoo and the percussive sounds made when wood blocks or sticks are tapped together.

[22] Williamson creates a similar reference to indigenous culture in "Dawn Wail for the Dead" by incorporating a wordless, "wailing," mezzo-soprano line.
[23] Malcolm Williamson to Robert Solomon, 7 September 1987, quoted in Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris, 434.

Although Williamson did not use references to indigenous music in the score of *The Dawn is at Hand*, which he admitted was out of respect for Kath Walker's culture,[24] it is clear from his sensitive and effective setting of Walker's poetry that he supported the strong political views expressed in her text. As discussed in Chapter 7, this is evident in the way Williamson reinforced the meaning and literary impact of one of Walker's most politically-motivated poems, "Aboriginal Charter of Rights," by setting it in a forthright, declamatory manner for full chorus, soloists and orchestra. Williamson also displayed his support for Kath Walker and her fellow indigenous Australians at the premiere of *The Dawn is at Hand* by wearing a jumper with the Aboriginal flag emblazoned upon it and by sitting with the poet in the audience and joining hands with her[25] to acknowledge jointly the praise they received for their collaboration on this work, which was, in Williamson's view, an "artistic marriage of the old race and the newer race."[26]

Williamson's friendship with Kath Walker continued long after their collaborative partnership ended and his ongoing dedication to her is obvious in several public statements he made in the late 1980s and early 1990s, as well as in the two other musical works that he composed for and dedicated to Walker and her son, Vivian, namely *Ceremony for Oodgeroo* (1988) and *Requiem for a Tribe Brother* (1992), respectively. The fact that Williamson allotted indigenous Australian themes a role of central importance in the latter part of his oeuvre is testament to the fact that he felt a connection "mostly with the Aboriginal people,"[27] rather than his fellow white Australians, from the mid-1980s onwards. It is also obvious that he viewed the music and literature of indigenous Australia as a legitimate source for the creation of an authentically Australian musical identity, as

[24] Malcolm Williamson, *The Dawn is At Hand*, spoken introduction to cassette recording of premiere performance, 1989, available from Simon Campion, Campion Press, Hertfordshire, England.
[25] Malcolm Williamson, introduction to Kath Walker, 14.
[26] Williamson quoted in Elise Johnston, "My Country, Black or White," *Courier Mail*, 20 October 1989.
[27] Malcolm Williamson quoted in Chris de Souza, "The Right Question," *The Musical Times* 132: 1785 (November 1991): 563.

shortly prior to the premiere of *The Dawn is at Hand*, he announced that his collaboration with Kath Walker had resulted in "something essentially Australian."[28] Through his personal and professional association with Kath Walker and through the group of significant indigenous-inspired works that he composed, Williamson projected an image to the Australian public of himself as an impassioned supporter of the rights and welfare of indigenous Australians and, simultaneously, re-confirmed his own identity as an Australian composer who was committed to writing music for and about his homeland.

It is obvious from this discussion and dissertation as a whole that Williamson projected an Australian identity throughout his working life abroad, particularly between the early 1960s and the early 1990s. He wrote works for performance in Australia and to fulfil commissions from Australian individuals, ensembles and organisations and also wrote many works inspired by or based on uniquely and identifiably Australian subjects, texts and/or literary themes. Over time, his interest in writing works for Australia gradually increased and most of the major works that he composed during the final two decades of his life were written for Australia, such as the final three of the eight symphonies he produced in total. Many of these works also reflect Williamson's increasing concern for various political issues facing Australians of all ethnic backgrounds. He also made many public statements and comments in private letters that confirmed and re-confirmed his nationality as an Australian, as well as the Australianness of his music. Equally significant to *how* Williamson projected this Australian identity, however, is the notion of *why* he felt the need to express it (and in the way that he did) and also, what it achieved in the long run.

[28] Malcolm Williamson, *The Dawn is at Hand*, spoken introduction to cassette recording.

There are a number of reasons why Williamson sought to publicise his Australian identity so fervently during the years he lived abroad. The main reasons are that he continued to consider himself an Australian despite choosing to live in Britain and that he wanted to maintain a relationship with his homeland in order to keep open his options for future employment and permanent return to Australia. As mentioned previously, Williamson considered returning to Australia to live on several occasions, most seriously during the 1980s and 1990s, when his popularity in Britain was in decline. His personal letters and public comments from this time reveal that he was hoping to find an academic position in Australia and that he longed for many of his compositions to find a much larger audience in his homeland. These factors contributed to Williamson's deep desire to be accepted by his own people, which in turn, inspired him to project an Australian identity in his music and public persona.

The way that Williamson's Australian identity evolved over time provides valuable insight into his unique experience as an expatriate. During the late 1950s and 1960s, his most successful period in Britain, he wrote relatively few works for Australia, and even fewer works that expressed an Australian identity convincingly. However, as his popularity in Britain began to decline in the late 1970s, after he missed deadlines during the Queen's Silver Jubilee year, his creative focus returned to Australia and Australian themes. This was partly related to the fact that he was looking and longing for a place to "fit in," a place where he could feel accepted and valued in society. It is not surprising that his whole notion of "Australianness" became increasingly politicised over time considering that his expatriate experience was itself affected by politics, as previously discussed in Chapter 3. His awareness of political issues affecting Australians, which increased in the 1980s along with his growing interest in Australia and its people generally, eventually played a defining role in the compositions he wrote for his homeland, particularly in the last two decades of

his working life. By confronting issues that were relevant to everyday Australians in his music and his verbal comments, it seems that Williamson was attempting to convince the local press and public that he was a patriotic Australian who was keeping abreast of the current trends and socio-political issues in his homeland. By projecting such an image, he could increase his chances of making an impression and ultimately being accepted and included in Australian society if he were to repatriate.

Williamson's experience as an expatriate was fairly typical when considered in the context of the collective journeys of many other Australian creative artists who were living and working in London after World War II. Like each of the expatriates discussed in Chapter 2, Williamson left Australia because of a lack of professional opportunities available to him at home and due to the common assumption that it was necessary to gain an imprimatur from London in order to be recognised or accepted as a successful creative artist in Australia. Once in London, he was overwhelmed by a strong sense of inferiority on account of his "colonial" background;[29] a feeling he shared in common with many Australian expatriates, including Eileen Joyce, Manning Clark, Joan Sutherland, Murray Sayle and Robert Hughes, who revealed such thoughts in their published writings and verbal comments. Like most successful expatriate creative artists, Williamson made many return visits to Australia, during which his movements and behaviour were watched intently by members of the press. Although at times he did receive positive publicity and reviews in Australia, generally he was subjected to the same degree of personal criticism and meretricious gossip about his private life as other outspoken expatriates, such as Nellie Melba, Percy Grainger, Joan Sutherland, Robert Hughes, Barry Humphries and Germaine Greer, to name only a few. The hostility that these figures attracted reflected the well-known Australian tendency to cut-down "Tall Poppies" and left most of them, including

[29] Malcolm Williamson, "Conversation with Malcolm Williamson," interview by Hazel de Berg, transcript of sound recording, 8 October 1967, National Library of Australia ORAL DeB 290, 291, 292.

Williamson, feeling "punished" for leaving Australia and subsequently excluded from Australian society. In fact, many of the expatriates mentioned in this dissertation remarked at one time or another that they felt they did not belong in Australia because they had spent so many years abroad, but simultaneously, they did not feel as though they were Britons, because they had not been born or raised there. A sense of statelessness was expressed in the public comments of Eileen Joyce, Charles Mackerras, Barry Tuckwell and Jill Neville, in particular, while the theme of exile is prevalent in the writings and interviews of Peter Porter, Germaine Greer, Robert Hughes, Barry Humphries, David Lumsdaine and Malcolm Williamson. Some of these figures, including Williamson, believed that this feeling had been imposed on them by the expatriate experience and that as a result, and despite their best efforts to retain an Australian identity, they had become too cosmopolitan to fit in anywhere. Nevertheless, these figures continued to identify themselves as Australian expatriates, rather than migrants, suggesting that above all, they viewed themselves as Australians.

Williamson was not the only Australian expatriate creative artist to respond to feelings of exile by attempting to create a nexus between his creative works and a sense of Australia. The artists Arthur Streeton and Sidney Nolan, the writers/poets Henry Lawson and Peter Porter, the dancer and choreographer Robert Helpmann and the composer David Lumsdaine were just a few of the expatriates who projected a distinctive Australian identity in their artistic works. Others, such as the writer Alan Moorehead and the actor Leo McKern, made a point of conveying their sense of Australian identity through their verbal remarks. For most expatriates, including Williamson, it appears as though geographical distance from Australia gave them greater perspective on their sense of national identity. As "outsiders" looking in, they seem to have been more fascinated by

and preoccupied with the country of their birth than many of their fellow countrymen and women who chose to remain resident in Australia.

It has also been revealed in this study that the development of an inclusive, egalitarian attitude towards the arts was another common response to the expatriate experience. Several of the expatriates mentioned in Chapter 2, including Nellie Melba, Percy Grainger, Eileen Joyce, Joan Sutherland, Peter Porter and Malcolm Williamson, expressed the view that the arts should exist for the enjoyment of everyone, rather than as an elitist activity that can only be understood and appreciated by an educated minority. While it is not unusual for creative artists to aim for their work to reach a wide audience, not all go to the great lengths that Melba did to tour regional areas; or make the effort to give performances in hospitals, asylums, prisons and schools as Joyce did; or write works for performance by children and the intellectually and physically disabled in the manner of Williamson. The philosophy of inclusiveness that many Australian expatriates embraced can be viewed as a product of their national heritage and their unique experiences as Australians living abroad. As Percy Grainger recognised, Australia's colonial heritage has caused Australians to be naturally suspicious of any form of hierarchy or pretentiousness and as a result, they tend to be great believers in democratic equality; a theory later expounded by numerous scholars, including Vance Palmer in the March 1942 edition of the influential cultural journal *Meanjin* and Richard White in his 1981 publication *Inventing Australia*.[30] Given that most expatriate creative artists were associated with the "high" arts – which were commonly perceived as elitist pursuits in Australia – it is not surprising that those who adopted an inclusive philosophy went to great lengths to break down barriers between the people and "high" art forms by making their works or performances more accessible.

[30] Malcolm Gillies and David Pear, eds., *The All-Round Man: Selected Letters of Percy Grainger, 1914-1961* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 7. Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688-1980* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1981), 153-55.

Many of these expatriate creative artists produced works in a diverse array of styles and genres and for a wide range of audiences and purposes. This also had the added benefit of increasing one's chances of gaining recognition and acceptance at home and abroad, which itself could help to counteract the feelings of isolation and statelessness associated with the expatriate experience.

While there are many parallels between the experiences of the expatriates mentioned in this dissertation, each individual's journey was also inevitably shaped by the unique decisions they made and the environmental influences that impacted upon their personal and professional lives. As such, there are several other factors that affected Williamson's expatriate experience and his projection of an Australian identity in his music and his verbal comments. Williamson's personal and professional life abroad was profoundly affected by the high status he achieved in Britain during the first two and a half decades he lived there, contrasted with the lack of recognition he received in Australia and his capacity for arousing controversy in the British and Australian press, as addressed in Chapter 3. He also had several other pertinent reasons for wanting to gain acceptance and find his place in society, in addition to those outlined above.

From childhood onwards, Williamson's life was characterised by changes and contradictions and as late as 1996 he admitted "I can't place myself. It's good if you can place yourself, because you can have a flag you can nail to the mast, and I don't."[31] He explained that he was raised a Protestant, then converted to Catholicism, then married a Jewish wife and had Jewish children and grandchildren and declared "and it's even more mixed up than that."[32] Although he avoided mentioning his homosexuality, this was just

[31] Malcolm Williamson quoted in "Composer Malcolm Williamson: A Conversation with Bruce Duffie," interview by Bruce Duffie, 18 October 1996; transcript available from http://www.kcstudio/williamson2html; Internet; accessed 7 June 2007.
[32] Williamson quoted in "Composer Malcolm Williamson: A Conversation with Bruce Duffie."

another element that created tension with other aspects of his life; notably, his family and his commitment to Catholicism. There is little doubt that his homosexuality and the prevailing negative views towards homosexuals at the time, particularly in Australia, caused him to feel even more isolated from society and contributed to the feeling that he couldn't "place" himself. Williamson responded to these feelings of remoteness and dislocation by composing works that were inclusive in either subject matter (Symphony No. 7, *The True Endeavour* and *The Dawn is at Hand*) or purpose (for example *Travel Diaries*, *The Glitter Gang* and Symphony No. 6); or featured a lone outsider figure ("The Outsider" in *The Display* and Ned Kelly in Symphony No. 7) and/or were set in a remote location (such as *The Display* and *The Glitter Gang*), as discussed in Chapters 4 to 7. As the examples given above demonstrate, these themes dominated the compositions that Williamson wrote for Australia, which suggests that he viewed his homeland as a source of many of these ideas and feelings. Perhaps he had hoped that by turning to Australian themes in his works, and by returning to Australia in the physical sense, he would finally be able to "place" himself and experience the sense of belonging and acceptance in society that he had craved for himself for so many years.

Another significant theme that penetrated Williamson's Australian compositions, as well as much of the remainder of his output, was religion. He composed several works that combined a sense of Australia with a religious, and specifically Christian, element, such as the three McAuley works from the early 1960s, in addition to Symphony No. 6, *The True Endeavour* and *Requiem for a Tribe Brother*. Williamson was a deeply religious and spiritual person, as suggested in Chapter 1, and obviously felt compelled to express this in some of the works he wrote for Australia. He converted to Catholicism shortly after arriving in London in the early 1950s and undoubtedly felt a sense of belonging through his involvement in the Church and its community. Despite his commitment to

Catholicism, however, he also embraced some of the beliefs and practices of other religions, particularly Judaism, after he married the Jewish Dolores Daniel in 1960. The many works he composed on Jewish themes, as mentioned in Chapter 1, as well as the light hymns that he designed for performance by Christian congregations, reflected the inclusiveness of his spirituality, as well as his personal musical identity. It is not surprising therefore, that Williamson also included religious-inspired texts and titles in the works he composed for Australia; these were means through which he could offer "praise," "devotion" and "homage" to Australia, as he had declared at the time of writing his Sixth Symphony.[33]

Williamson's expatriate experience and projection of an Australian identity were also influenced by his outspoken and forthright behaviour. As revealed in Chapter 3, the composer's highly-opinionated and direct manner caused many controversies and clashes with the media in Britain and Australia, which shifted most members of the press from the position of potential advocate to pronounced adversary. On some occasions, Williamson attempted to manipulate the press to suit his own agenda and he frequently anticipated the criticism of the Australian media by making overt declarations of loyalty to the country of his birth. He could also be something of a "chameleon" and change his opinion to suit the circumstances or to "fit in," as his partner and publisher Simon Campion has commented.[34] Although these characteristics made him unpopular in some circles, this study has also shown that he was a compassionate, generous and forward-thinking individual and, as his personal letters and those closest to him have revealed, behind the public façade, Williamson was "absolutely" and "enthusiastically" Australian.[35]

[33] Roger Covell, "The Middle Ages Offers Up a Salute to the ABC," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 October 1986), 18.
[34] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal conversation, 9 July 2006.
[35] Simon Campion to Carolyn Philpott, personal conversation, 9 July 2006.

Although Williamson's declarations of an Australian identity were not always perceived as sincere by his detractors, they did benefit the composer and his homeland in several significant ways. In addition to giving Williamson a sense of "place" or belonging, his projection of an Australian identity in his music and persona helped to raise his profile as an Australian composer in Australia and also helped to heighten awareness of Australian composers and their music abroad, particularly in London, which is a significant contribution in itself. While Williamson may have been criticised in Australia for being, and remaining, an expatriate, it is unlikely that he would have been able to contribute as much as he did to music in Australia had he not achieved such a high level of success abroad.

Williamson was one of the most successful and prolific Australian composers of the latter half of the twentieth century and yet in his homeland, his contribution has been largely overlooked. He achieved outstanding success as a composer and performing musician in Britain in the late 1950s and 1960s, was the recipient of numerous awards and prestigious posts, and composed more than 250 works in total. He produced a range of compositions for Australia, many of which were based on Australian topoi, as well as several novel, large-scale compositions, including the first "Transcontinental" Symphony, his Symphony No. 6. He was the first white Australian composer to collaborate with an indigenous poet on a large-scale choral work and he put his stance on the plight of indigenous Australians, a rather politically controversial subject at the time, ahead of his own popularity. Therefore, despite what many Australian critics insinuated, it is clear from this research that Williamson did not abandon or forget about the country of his birth when he left Australia for Britain in the early 1950s. Although he spent fifty of his seventy-one years living in England, he was dedicated to maintaining a relationship with Australia and as his personal letters reveal, he embraced every opportunity to visit and write works in honour

of his homeland and in the process, he created a strong nexus between his music and a sense of Australia.

Williamson once expressed concern for the longevity of music by Australian composers, believing that without governmental support this music may have to await some sort of "posthumous discovery," and he hoped that a revival of his music would take place in his homeland in the years following his death.[36] Since 2003 there has been a resurgence of interest in his works, reflected in the growing number of scheduled performances, newly-released recordings and reissues of original recordings with the composer as performer. Chandos has recently released an important new series of recordings dedicated to Williamson's orchestral music,[37] Naxos has produced a compact disc of Williamson's choral music,[38] and Lyrita has re-released two recordings of orchestral and piano music with the composer as soloist.[39] Such recordings allow listeners to judge Williamson's contribution for themselves. However, the recognition afforded to Williamson, especially in Australia, is yet to reflect fully the depth and breadth of his professional achievements in Britain. In order to restore the composer to his rightful place internationally, a detailed critical analysis of his musical style and contribution to British music needs to be

[36] Malcolm Williamson quoted in "Government's Policy on Arts 'Disgusting,'" *The Canberra Times*, 28 February 1970, 17.

[37] Volume 1 (CHAN 10359, 2006) consists of the overture *Santiago de Espada* (1957), the suite from *Our Man in Havana* (1963), Concerto grosso (1965) and *Sinfonietta* (1965-67). Volume 2 (CHAN 10406, 2007) comprises Symphony No. 1 (*Elevamini*, 1956-57), *Epitaphs for Edith Sitwell* (1966), Symphony No. 5 (*Aquerò*, 1980) and *Lento for Strings* (1985). All works are performed by the Iceland Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Rumon Gamba. A full list of recordings consulted in this dissertation is provided in the discography.

[38] This recording (NAXOS 8.557783, 2006) features *Symphony for Voices*, *English Eccentrics Choral Suite* and *Requiem for a Tribe Brother*, performed by the Joyful Company of Singers, conducted by Peter Broadbent.

[39] The first Lyrita release (Lyrita SRCD.280, 2007) includes the Organ Concerto (1961), Piano Concerto No. 3 (1962) and Sonata for Two Pianos (1967). The Organ Concerto is performed by Williamson and the London Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Adrian Boult. The Piano Concerto No. 3 is also played by Williamson and the LPO, conducted by Leonard Dommett. The Sonata for Two Pianos is performed by Malcolm Williamson and Richard Rodney Bennett. The second Lyrita release (Lyrita SRCD.281, 2007) includes *Santiago de Espada* (1957), Symphony No. 1 (*Elevamini*, 1956-57), *Sinfonia Concertante* (1958-62) and Piano Sonata No. 2 (1957, rev. 1970-71). The recording of *Sinfonia Concertante* features pianist Martin Jones, while the performance of Piano Sonata No. 2 is given by Williamson. The orchestra featured is the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra, conducted by Sir Charles Groves. Williamson's complete works for piano have been recorded by Antony Gray and are available on ABC Classics 472 902-2.

undertaken. In addition, many of the composer's individual works and groups of works are worthy of receiving scholarly attention in their own right, especially the operas, but also the cassations, vocal and choral works, orchestral works and pieces for organ. Research undertaken in these areas would increase current awareness of Williamson's compositional style and contribution to music in general, and may also encourage future performances and recordings of his works.

This present study of Williamson's projection of an Australian identity, his expatriate experience and his Australian music consolidates, enhances and challenges the current appreciation of Williamson's life and creative work. Through the examination of previously unexplored primary source material, including the composer's correspondence and unpublished musical scores, this study has supported the assertion that Williamson deliberately projected an Australian identity and has provided insight into the construction and manifestations of that persona and the effect that these elements had on the reception of his works. In addition to addressing how and why the composer expressed a sense of national identity in his music and persona, it has redressed many of the inaccuracies previously surrounding the composer's biography and motivations and has drawn attention to the highly original and dynamic music that this significant Australian composed for his homeland. It has also illuminated some of Williamson's approaches to composition, which will aid future investigations into his music and compositional processes. Further to this, it has been revealed that Williamson's role in the development of Australian music was more significant and multifaceted than previously accepted. Not only did he compose more than two dozen works for performance in Australia, but he also campaigned to improve music education in Australian schools and the status and working conditions of Australian composers and musicians. Although his creative life was coloured by contradictions and controversy, the fact remains that Malcolm Williamson was one of the most significant

Australian composers of the twentieth century and his journey to success during the 1950s and 1960s inspired later generations of Australian composers and musicians to aspire to similar heights of achievement and to take pride in their unique Australian heritage.

Appendix A Williamson's "Australian" Compositions[1]

Year[2]	Composition	Australian connection
1960	Piano Concerto No. 2	Prizewinning work in competition sponsored by University of Western Australia.
1960-1961	*Sydney* from *Travel Diaries: Impressions of Famous Cities for Pianoforte*	*Sydney* consists of 13 didactic piano pieces inspired by scenes and landmarks from Williamson's hometown.
1962	Piano Concerto No. 3	Commissioned by the ABC and APRA, dedicated to *John Ogdon* and premiered by him and SSO under Joseph Post in Sydney in June 1964.
1960-1962	*Symphony for Voices* for solo alto and unaccompanied SATB choir	Text by Australian poet James McAuley.
1963	*Celebration of Divine Love* for high voice and piano	Text by James McAuley.
1963	*An Australian Carol* (*Nativity*) for SATB and organ	Text by James McAuley.
1964	*The Display* (A Dance Symphony)	Ballet score commissioned by Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust for Adelaide Festival of Arts. Scenario and choreography: Robert Helpmann; Décor: Sidney Nolan. Based on Australian topoi.
1964	*The Display* (Concert Suite)	Concert Suite from the ballet in 7 movements.
1970	*I Will Lift Up Mine Eyes* for chorus, echo chorus and organ	Commissioned by St Stephen's Church, Sydney, and premiered there on 3 May 1970 before the Queen.
1972	Concerto for Two Pianos and String Orchestra	Commissioned by Australia Council & Astra Chamber Orchestra. Premiered in Melbourne in 1972 by Charles H Webb, Wallace Hornibrook & Astra Chamber Orchestra, under Logie Smith.
1973	*Adelaide Fanfare* for brass and organ	Premiered in 1973 during the Queen's visit to Adelaide.
1973	*Canberra Fanfare* for brass and percussion	Premiered in 1973 at the opening of the Canberra Theatre by the Queen.
1973-1974	*The Glitter Gang* (A Cassation for Audience and Orchestra or Piano)	Commissioned by ABC, premiered 23 February 1974, Sydney Town Hall, SSO, John Hopkins. Plot explores Indigenous Australian themes.
1973-1974	*Perisynthion* (A Ballet)	Dedicated to Robert Helpmann. Recorded by ABC in 1985, SSO, Dobbs Franks.
1973-1976	Concerto for Harp and String Orchestra (*Au tombeau du martyr juif inconnu*)	Commissioned by the London Mozart Players and the Australian Musical Association.
1982	*In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze* for full orchestra	Commissioned by ABC for its Golden Jubilee, premiered 1 July 1982 at Sydney Opera House by SSO and Patrick Thomas.
1982	Symphony No. 6 for full orchestra	A "transcontinental" symphony commissioned by ABC for its 50th anniversary and scored for the seven ABC Symphony Orchestras.
1984	Symphony No. 7 for string orchestra	Commissioned by State of Victoria 150th Anniversary Committee and inspired by history and landscape of Victoria.
1984	*A Pilgrim Liturgy*	Cantata dedicated to Reverend Dougan of St Andrew's College, Sydney. Based on an unnamed organ work commissioned by the dedicatee.
1985	*Lento for Strings* for string orchestra	Dedicated to Paul McDermott. Premiered in 1985 at Music in the Round, Melbourne, by Philharmonia of Melbourne.
1988	*Bicentennial Anthem* for orchestra	Commissioned by Australian Musical Foundation. Premiered 9 May 1988, Australian Bicentennial Royal Gala Concert, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane; Royal Opera House Orchestra, Charles Mackerras.
1988	*The True Endeavour* for speaker, SATB chorus and orchestra	Commissioned by the Sydney Opera House Trust and Australian Bicentennial Authority. Text by Australian historian Manning Clark.
1988	*Ceremony for Oodgeroo* for brass quintet	Dedicated to Oodgeroo Noonuccal on the occasion of the conferring of Doctor of Letters Honoris Causa by Macquarie University.
1989	*The Dawn is at Hand* (Symphony	Commissioned by QLD State and Municipal Choir, premiered 20

[1] In addition, Williamson composed several film scores for Australian documentaries, including *Inland with Sturt* (1947), *The Timber Getters* (1948) and *September Spring* (1964). Other works that received Australian premieres include Symphony No. 1 ("Elevamini," 1956-7), performed by the Melbourne Symphony Orchestra conducted by Sir Bernard Heinze on 13 November 1963; Piano Sonata No. 3 (1957), performed by Antony Gray at Melba Hall, University of Melbourne on 8 March 1993; *The Musicians of Bremen* (1971-2) for 2 counter-tenors, 2 baritones and bass, performed at the Sydney Town Hall on 15 May 1972 and *A Song of Hope* (1995) and *My Redeemer and my Lord* (1995), both for organ and both performed by Simon Campion in Perth in November 1997. Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue" (Hertfordshire: Campion Press, 2008).

[2] The dates given in this column refer to dates of composition.

	No. 8) for SATB soli, SATB chorus and orchestra	October 1989, QLD Performing Arts Centre, Brisbane, Queensland State and Municipal Choir, Kevin Power, QSO, Dobbs Franks. Text by indigenous Australian poet Oodgeroo Noonuccal (Kath Walker).
1992	*Requiem for a Tribe Brother* for chorus a cappella	Dedicated to the Indigenous Australian Kabul of the Tribe Noonuccal (Vivian Walker).
1993	String Quartet No. 3	Single-movement string quartet written for Australian String Quartet and premiered by the same ensemble on 19 February 1994.

Appendix B Complete List of Musical Works by Malcolm Williamson[3]

Key to Publishers:
JW Josef Weinberger
CP Campion Press
MB Bureau de Musique Mario Bois
BH Boosey & Hawkes
WC Warner Chappell
NC Novello & Co.
- Unpublished/Unrecorded/Nil

Stage

Year	Composition Title and Genre	Pub.	First Performance Place and Date/Collaborators/Text
1951	*A Haunted House*, chamber opera in 1 act	-	-
1963	*Our Man in Havana*, opera in 3 acts	JW	Sadler's Wells, London, 2 July 1963. Libretto: S. Gilliat, after G. Greene.
1963-1964	*English Eccentrics*, chamber opera in 2 acts	CP	Jubilee Hall, Aldeburgh, 11 June 1964. Libretto: G. Dunn, after E. Sitwell.
1964	*The Display (A Dance Symphony)*, ballet	JW	Her Majesty's Theatre, Adelaide, 14 March 1964. Choreography: R. Helpmann; Décor: S. Nolan.
1964	*Spectrum*, ballet to Variations for Cello and Piano	JW	Theatre Royal, Bury St. Edmunds, 21 September 1967. Choreography: C. Roope; Décor: Charles Dunlop.
1964-1965	*The Happy Prince*, chamber opera in 1 act	JW	Farnham Parish Church, 22 May 1965. Libretto: M. Williamson, after O. Wilde.
1965	*Julius Caesar Jones*, chamber opera in 2 acts	JW	Jeannetta Cochrane, London, 4 January 1966. Libretto: G Dunn.
1966	*Sun into Darkness*, ballet in 3 acts	JW	Sadler's Wells, London, 13 April 1966. Choreography: P. Darnell; Scenario: D. Rudkin.
1966	*The Violins of Saint-Jacques*, opera in 3 acts	JW	Sadler's Wells, London, 29 November 1966. Libretto: W. Chappell, after P. Leigh Fermor.
1967	*Dunstan and the Devil*, chamber opera in 1 act	JW	Cookham Festival, Berkshire, 19 May 1967. Libretto: G. Dunn.
1967	*BigfellaTootsSquoodgeandNora*, a ballet to *Pas de Quatre*	JW	Northern Dance Theatre, RNCM, 25 September 1970. Choreography: J. Thorpe; Design: J. Newton and M. Holt.
1967	*Sinfonietta*, ballet score based on the work of the same name for orchestra	JW	Royal Shakespeare Theatre, Stratford, 10 February 1967. Choreography: Sir Frederick Ashton.
1967	*The Moonrakers*, cassation for audience and orchestra	JW	Dome, Brighton, 22 April 1967. Text: M. Williamson.
1967-1969	*Lucky Peter's Journey*, opera in 3 acts	JW	London Coliseum, 18 December 1969. Libretto: E. Tracey, after A. Strindberg.
1968	*Knights in Shining Armour*, cassation for audience and piano	JW	Brighton Festival, 29 April 1968. Text: M. Williamson.
1968	*The Snow Wolf*, cassation for audience and piano	JW	Brighton Festival, 29 April 1968. Text: M. Williamson.
1968	*The Growing Castle*, chamber opera in 2 acts	JW	Dynevor Castle, South Wales, 13 August 1968. Libretto: M. Williamson, after A Strindberg's *A Dream Play*.
1968-1971	*The Death of Cuchulain*, chamber opera	JW	Queen Elizabeth Hall, London, 6 November 1971. Text: W.B. Yeats.
1971	*Genesis*, cassation for audience and instruments	JW	Black Mountain, North Carolina, U.S.A., June 1971. Text: M. Williamson.
1971	*The Stone Wall*, cassation for audience and orchestra/piano	JW	Royal Albert Hall, London, 18 September 1971. Text: M. Williamson.
1971-1972	*The Musicians of Bremen*, chamber opera	JW	Town Hall, Sydney, 15 May 1972. Text: M. Williamson, after the Grimms' fairy-tale.

[3] This complete list of works was drawn primarily from the following documents: Simon Campion, "Draft of Malcolm Williamson, CBE, AO (1931-2003): Complete Catalogue;" and Michael Barkl, "Malcolm Williamson," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 2001); as well as scores and recordings of the individual compositions listed. The works are categorised according to genre. The dates given in the left-hand column refer to dates of composition. The details provided in the "Composition Title and Genre" column reflect the wording used by Williamson and the respective publishers to advertise the works. The right-hand column includes additional information that may be useful to researchers, including, where appropriate, the names of collaborators, sources of texts used and first performance dates and locations, if known. The abbreviation n.d. is used where no date has been recorded.

1971-1972	*The Red Sea*, chamber opera in 1 act	JW	Dartington College of Arts, Devon, 14 April 1972. Libretto: M. Williamson.
1973	*The Winter Star*, cassation for audience and piano/organ or full orchestra	JW	Holm Cultram Festival, 19 June 1973. Text: M. Williamson.
1973-1974	*The Glitter Gang*, cassation for audience and orchestra/piano	JW	Town Hall, Sydney, 23 February 1974. Text: M. Williamson.
1973-1974	*Perisynthion*, ballet	JW	Studio recording: ABC, 1985.
1974	*La Tèrre des Rois* (*The Terrain of the Kings*), cassation for audience and orchestra/piano	MB	Text: M. Williamson.
1977	*The Valley and the Hill*, cassation for voices, audience and orchestra/piano.	CP	Liverpool, 21 June 1977. Text: M. Williamson.
1982	*The Devil's Bridge* (*Le Pond du Diable*), cassation for voices, audience and piano	CP	Angoulême, France, March 1982. Text: M. Williamson, based on a legend of Aquitaine.
1985	*Heritage*, ballet in 3 tableaux	CP	Arts Centre, University of Warwick, 4 July 1985. Scenario: M. Williamson, after an idea by D. Bellamy; Choreography: P. Kempster.
1988	*Have Steps Will Travel*, ballet to Piano Concerto No. 3	JW	O'Keefe Centre for the Performing Arts, Toronto, 23 November 1988. Choreography: J. Alleyne.

Orchestral

Year	Composition Title and Genre	Pub.	First Performance Place and Date
1947-1949	*Theme and Variations for Orchestra*	-	-
1947-1949	*Lento for Orchestra*	-	-
1947-1949	*Scherzo for Orchestra*	-	-
1956-1957	Symphony No. 1, "Elevamini"	BH	St Pancras Town Hall, London, June 1957.
1957	*Santiago de Espada*, overture for orchestra	BH	St Pancras Town Hall, London, June 1957.
1957-1958	Piano Concerto No. 1, for piano and orchestra	BH	Cheltenham Festival, 15 July 1958.
1958-1962	*Sinfonia Concertante* (formerly Symphony No. 2, *Laudes*)	BH	Glasgow, 21 May 1964.
1960	Piano Concerto No. 2, for piano and string orchestra	BH	University of Western Australia, 3 May 1962.
1961	Concerto for Organ and Orchestra	JW	Royal Albert Hall, London, 8 September 1961.
1962	Piano Concerto No. 3, for piano and orchestra	JW	Sydney, June 1964.
1963	*Our Man in Havana*, concert suite	JW	Munich, October 1963.
1963	*Our Man in Havana*, orchestral suite	JW	Glasgow, 6 January 1966.
1964	*Incidental Music to Shakespeare's "The Merry Wives of Windsor,"* for chamber ensemble	JW	Stratford upon Avon, 17 December 1964.
1964	*Concert Suite from The Display*	JW	Recorded by Sydney Symphony Orchestra and John Hopkins/Stuart Challender.
1964-1965	Concerto for Violin and Orchestra	JW	Bath Festival, 15 June 1965.
1965	Concerto Grosso	JW	Royal Albert Hall, London, 28 August 1965.
1965	*Sinfonietta*, for orchestra	JW	BBC Broadcast: 21 March 1965.
1965	Symphonic Variations, for orchestra	JW	Usher Hall, Edinburgh, 9 September 1965.
1965	*Serenade and Aubade*, movements II and III of *Symphonic Variations*, for orchestra	JW	-
1966	*Epitaphs for Edith Sitwell*, for string orchestra or organ	JW	Version for string orchestra: Southwark Cathedral, London, April 1972.
1968	Symphony No. 2, "Pilgrim på havet," for orchestra	JW	Colston Hall, Bristol, 29 October 1969.
1969	*A Word from Our Founder*, for orchestra	JW	Hoffnung Festival, February 1969.
1972	Concerto for Two Pianos and String Orchestra	JW	Melbourne, 1972.
1973	*Perisynthion* (also known as *Astarte*), for	JW	Studio Recording: ABC, 1985.

	orchestra		
1973-1976	Concerto for Harp and String Orchestra (*Au tombeau du martyre juif inconnu*)	CP	Queen Elizabeth Hall, London, 17 November 1976.
1975	*Camargue Scenes* (Nos. 3, 4 and 7 from the piano album), for string orchestra	CP	-
1975	*Two Pieces from "The Bridge that Van Gogh Painted"* (Nos. 3 and 7 from the piano album), for string orchestra	CP	-
1975	*The Bridge that Van Gogh Painted* (No. 4 from the piano album), for string orchestra	CP	-
1977	Symphony No. 4, for orchestra	CP	-
1977	*The House of Windsor – Orchestral Suite*	CP	BBC studio recording for Radio 3, n.d.
1978	*Fiesta*, for orchestra	CP	Victoria Hall, Geneva, 14 March 1978.
1978	*Ochre*, for orchestra or organ and string orchestra	CP	Organ and string orchestra: St Margaret's, Westminster, 2 September 1978; Full orchestra: St John's Smith Square, London, 8 July 1992.
1978	*Azure* (Movement IV of *Mass of a Medieval Saint* arr. Brian Brown), for string orchestra	CP	Recorded by Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, n.d., Pickwick PWK 1143.
1979	*Fanfarade*, for orchestra	JW	Guildhall, London, 10 May 1979.
1980	Symphony No. 5, "Aquerò," for orchestra	JW	Brent Town Hall, London, 23 April 1980.
1980	*Ode for Queen Elizabeth*, for string orchestra	JW	Hopetoun House, Edinburgh, 25 August 1980.
1980	*Lament in Memory of Lord Mountbatten of Burma*, for violin and string orchestra	JW	Queen's Hall, Edinburgh, 5 May 1980.
1980	*National Anthem*, for full orchestra	JW	-
1982	*In Thanksgiving – Sir Bernard Heinze*, for full orchestra	CP	Sydney Opera House, 1 July 1982.
1982	Symphony No. 6, for full orchestra	CP	First Broadcast: ABC FM Radio, 29 September 1986.
1984	Symphony No. 7, for string orchestra	CP	Irving Hall, Lauriston Girls' School, Melbourne, 12 August 1985.
1984	*Cortège for a Warrior*, for orchestra	CP	-
1985	*Lento for Strings*, for string orchestra	CP	Melbourne, 1985.
1988	*Bicentennial Anthem*	CP	Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, 9 May 1988.
1993-1994	Piano Concerto No. 4	-	-
1995	*With Proud Thanksgiving*, for orchestra	CP	-

Choral

Year	Composition Title and Genre	Pub.	First Performance Place and Date/Text
1954	*Two Motets*, for two unaccompanied three and four-part choirs	WC	Text: St. Thomas Aquinas' Hymn for Corpus Christi
1957	*Meditations for SATB*	-	-
1957	*Mass for SATB*	-	-
1959	*Adoremus*, Christmas cantata for alto and tenor soli, chorus and organ	BH	-
1960	*Dawn Carol*, for unaccompanied SATB or unison voices and organ/piano	WC	Text: Gradual and Alleluia in the Second Mass of Christmas – the Mass of Dawn.
1960-1962	*Symphony for Voices*, for solo alto and unaccompanied SATB choir	JW	Holy Trinity Church, London, 2 May 1962. Poems: J. McAuley.
1961	*Ascendit Deus*, for SATB Chorus and Organ	CP	-
1961	*Tu es Petrus*, cantata for speaker, SATB chorus and organ	CP	Text: From the Vulgate, ordinary of the Mass with Augustus Toplady's *Rock of Ages*.
1961	*Agnus Dei*, for solo soprano, SATB chorus and organ	JW	-
1961	*Dignus est Agnus*, motet for soprano, SATB chorus and organ	WC	-
1961	*Procession of Palms*, for SATB choir and organ/piano or SSA choir and organ/piano	JW	-
1962	*Easter Carol* (*Ye Choirs of New Jerusalem*), for SATB chorus and organ	JW	Text: St Fulbert of Chartres (Trans. J. M. Neale).
1962	*Jesu, Lover of my Soul*, for solo quartet,	JW	Text: C. Wesley.

	double chorus and organ		
1962	*Harvest Thanksgiving* (*Come ye thankful people come*), for SATB choir and organ	JW	-
1962	*Let Them Give Thanks*, for SATB chorus, massed unison voices and organ	JW	-
1962	*Wrestling Jacob*, anthem for soprano solo, SATB and organ	NC	Text: C. Wesley.
1962	*The Morning of the Day of Days*, Easter cantata for soprano, tenor, SATB choir and organ	JW	-
1962	*Planctus*, monody for men's voices	-	Text: P. Abelard.
1962	*12 New Hymn Tunes*, for unison voices and piano or organ	JW	-
1963	*Our Man in Havana*, concert suite for SATB soloists, SATB chorus and orchestra	JW	Munich, Germany, October 1963.
1963	*An Australian Carol* (*Nativity*), for SATB and organ	NC	Poem: J. McAuley.
1963	*Epiphany Carol* (*Brightest and Best*), for unison voices and piano/organ or solo soprano/treble voices, SATB chorus and organ	JW	Text: Bishop R. Heber.
1963	*Good King Wenceslas*, arrangement for SATB and organ	NC	Text: J. M. Neale.
1963	*Ding Dong Merrily on High*, arrangement for unaccompanied SATB	NC	Text: G. R. Woodward.
1963	*Te Deum*, for unison voices and piano or organ	JW	-
1963	*6 Christmas Songs for the Young*, for unison voices and piano with optional percussion	JW	-
1964	*The Boar's Head*, arrangement for unaccompanied SATB	NC	Text: Traditional.
1964	*Mass of Saint Andrew*, for unison voices and piano or organ	JW	-
1964	*English Eccentrics*, choral suite for unaccompanied double chorus	CP	-
1964	*A Young Girl*, for unaccompanied SATB choir	JW	London, 9 March 1967.
1964	*6 Evening Hymns*, for unison voices and piano or organ	-	-
1965	*A Psalm of Praise* (*Psalm 148*), for unison voices and organ	JW	-
1966	*Sweet and Low* (No. 4 of *Six English Lyrics*), for SSA chorus and piano	JW	-
1966	*The Brilliant and the Dark*, operatic sequence for women's voices and orchestra/piano and strings/two pianos	JW	Royal Albert Hall, London, 3 June 1969. Poem: U. Vaughan Williams.
1967	*A Canon for Stravinsky*, for unaccompanied SATB	-	Cheltenham Festival, 1967. Published in *Tempo* in Summer 1967.
1967	*Mowing the Barley*, folk-song arrangement for SATB chorus and orchestra	JW	Queen Elizabeth Hall, London, 1 March 1967. Text: Traditional.
1969	*Sonnet*, for chorus a capella	JW	Cork International Festival, 3 May 1969. Poem: O. Wilde's *On hearing the Dies Irae sung in the Sistine Chapel*
1969	*Hallo Everybody*, 24 songs for students beginning English	CP	Texts: C. A. Axelsson, M. Knight, K. Sundin.
1969	*Carol Arrangements*, for SSAATTBB chorus and orchestra	JW	-
1970	*Cantate Domino* (Psalm 98), for SATB choir and organ	-	-
1970	*In Place of Belief* (*I Stallet for Tro*), for 6-part chorus and piano duet	JW	Catholic University of America, 15 January 1971. Poems: Pär Lagerqvist (trans. M. Williamson).
1970	*I Will Lift Up Mine Eyes* (*Psalm 121* – No. 1 of *Carols of King David*), anthem for chorus, echo chorus and organ	JW	St Stephen's Church, Sydney, 3 May 1970.
1970-	*Te Deum*, for SATB choir, organ and	JW	-

1971	optional brass ensemble		
1971	*6 Wesley Songs for the Young*, for unison voices and piano	JW	-
1972	*Love, the Sentinel*, for chorus a cappella	JW	Scunthorpe Festival of Music, 19 February 1972. Poems: Cantos 126, 127 and 130 from *In Memoriam* by Alfred, Lord Tennyson.
1972	*O Jerusalem* (*Psalm 122* – No. 2 of *Carols of King David*), for unison choir, congregation and organ	JW	-
1972	*Together in Unity* (*Psalm 133* – No. 3 of *Carols of King David*), for unison choir, congregation and organ	JW	-
1972	*Who is the King of Glory* (*Psalm 24* – No. 4 of *Carols of King David*), for unison choir, congregation and organ	JW	-
1972	*The King of Love* (*Psalm 23* – No. 5 of *Carols of King David*), for unison choir, congregation and organ	JW	-
1972	Symphony No. 3, "The Icy Mirror," for soprano, mezzo-soprano, 2 baritones, SATB chorus and orchestra	JW	Town Hall, Cheltenham, 9 July 1972. Poem: U. Vaughan Williams.
1972-1973	*Ode to Music*, for children's voices and orchestra or piano	JW	Text: U. Vaughan Williams.
1973	*Canticle of Fire*, for SATB chorus and organ	JW	Manhattanville College, New York, 20 May 1973. Text: a thirteenth-century hymn.
1973	*The World at the Manger*, Christmas cantata for soprano and baritone, SATB chorus and organ/piano duet	JW	De Montfort Hall, Leicester, 6 December 1973.
1974-1975	*Communion Hallelujahs*, for unison children's chorus, unison male chorus and organ	-	-
1975	*16 Hymns and Processional*, unison voices and piano or organ	CP	-
1975	*Love Chorales*, for voices and piano or organ or guitar	CP	-
1975	*Dove Chorales*, for voices and piano or organ	CP	-
1975	*Above Chorales*, for voices and piano or organ	CP	-
1975	*Mass of St James*, for unison voices and piano or organ	CP	-
1975	*Psalms of the Elements*, 20 responsorial psalms for choir, congregation and organ	BH	-
1975	*This is my Father's World*, for SATB and organ	CP	-
1975-1978	*Mass of Christ the King*, for lyric soprano, dramatic soprano, tenor, baritone, echo choir, SATB chorus and orchestra	JW	Westminster Cathedral, London, 3 November 1978. Text: Ordinary of the Mass and Proper for the Mass of Christ the King (in Latin).
1977	*This Christmas Night*, for SATB choir and piano	JW	Poem: M. Wilson.
1977	*Jubilee Hymn*, for unison chorus, SATB chorus and orchestra or piano	JW	Royal Albert Hall, London, 6 February 1977.
1977-1980	*Mass of St Margaret of Scotland*, for congregation, optional SATB choir and organ	JW	-
1978	*National Anthem*, for SATB chorus and full orchestra	JW	The Queen's Hall, Edinburgh, 6 July 1979.
1979	*Songs for a Royal Baby*, for vocal quartet (SATB) or chorus and string orchestra	CP	Royston Arts Festival, 18 May 1985; Chorus and orchestra: Chapter House, Canterbury Cathedral, 25 January 1986.
1979	*Kerygma*, anthem for SATB choir and organ	JW	Temple Church, London, 11 March 1979. Text: Philippians 2. 5-11.
1980	*Little Mass of St Bernadette*, for unbroken voices and organ or instruments	JW	City of London School, 26 November 1980.
1980	*National Anthem*, for SATB chorus and string orchestra	JW	-
1980	*Three Choric Hymns*, for unaccompanied SATB	JW	Konstanz, Germany, 26 October 1980. Texts: Sarum Primer (1558), Whitman, E. H. Young.

1980-1981	*Mass of the People of God*, for voices and organ	JW	St John's Parish Church, Bromsgrove, 29 April 1981.
1981	*Now is the Singing Day*, for baritone and mezzo-soprano soli, SATB chorus, strings, piano four hands and percussion (or keyboard alone)	CP	Leeds Town Hall, June 1981. Texts: from *The Song of Songs* (trans. A. Friedlander).
1982	*The Cradle of the Hope of Peace*, for SSA chorus and orchestra	CP	Poems: E. Sitwell, E. Blunden.
1984	*A Pilgrim Liturgy*, cantata for mezzo and baritone, chorus and orchestra	CP	-
1987	*Galilee*, for SATB chorus	CP	Poem: M. Wilson.
1987	*Easter in St Mary's Church*, for SATB	CP	Poem: M. Wilson.
1988	*The True Endeavour*, for speaker, SATB chorus and orchestra	CP	Text: M. Clark.
1988	*A Book of Christmas Carols* (*Arrangements*), for voices and piano or organ	CP	-
1989	*The Dawn is at Hand* (Symphony No. 8), for SATB soli, SATB chorus and orchestra	CP	Queensland Performing Arts Centre, Brisbane, 20 October 1989. Poems: O. Noonuccal (K. Walker).
1989	*Our Church Lives*, for SATB choir and organ	CP	Poem: S. Sayers.
1990	*Mass of St Etheldreda – Missa Brevis on Themes of Lennox Berkeley*, for SATB chorus and organ	CP	St Etheldreda's Church, London, 2 July 1990.
1992	*Requiem for a Tribe Brother*, for chorus a cappella	CP	St John's, Smith Square, London, 11 October 1992; Liturgical premiere: Our Lady of Victories, London, 24 November 1992.
1995	*Love's Redeeming Work is Done*, for SATB chorus	CP	-

Other Vocal

Year	Compositional Title and Genre	Pub.	First Performance Place and Date (if known)/Text
1947	*A Cycle of Love Songs*, for mezzo-soprano and piano	-	-
1947	*Two Songs for Middle Voice and Piano*	-	-
1954	*Aye, Flattering Fortune*, for unaccompanied tenor	-	Morley College, London, 22 December 1954.
1957	*The Fly*, for high voice and piano	CP	Poem: W. Blake.
1958	*A Vision of Beasts and Gods*, for high voice and piano	BH	Broadcast: BBC, 3 October 1968. Poems: G. Barker.
1960	*Ode in Solitude*, for baritone and piano	-	-
1963	*Celebration of Divine Love*, for high voice and piano	NC	St James' Square, London, 8 April 1963. Poem: J. McAuley.
1963	*Hasselbacher's Scena* (from *Our Man in Havana*), for bass voice and piano or orchestra	JW	-
1964	*Three Shakespeare Songs*, for high voice and guitar or piano	JW	Edinburgh Festival, 1964.
1964	*A Christmas Carol* (*Christ-child lay on Mary's lap*), for low voice and piano	JW	Poem: G. K. Chesterton.
1965	*North Country Songs*, arrangements for low voice and orchestra or piano with optional SATB chorus	JW	Voice and orchestra: February, 1965. Voice and piano with chorus: Wigmore Hall, London, 19 May 1966.
1966	*Six English Lyrics*, for low voice and piano/string orchestra	JW	Voice/Piano: Wigmore Hall, London, 19 May 1966; Voice/Orchestra: Liverpool, 17 February 1969. Text: E. Waller, A. Tennyson, C. Rossetti, L. Hunt.
1966	*Each Afternoon* (Berthe's aria from Act I of *The Violins of Saint Jacques*), for soprano and orchestra	JW	-
1967-1968	*From a Child's Garden*, song cycle for high voice and piano	JW	Reardon Smith Theatre, Cardiff, 24 April 1968. Poems: R. L. Stevenson.
1968	*The Altar is Adorned for Sacrifice* (from *The Growing Castle*), for soprano and	JW	Text: M. Williamson.

	orchestra		
1969	*Dear Ocean Hail* (aria from Act III of *Lucky Peter's Journey*), for baritone and orchestra	JW	-
1973	*Vocalise in G Minor*, for mezzo-soprano and piano	CP	-
1973	*Pietà*, for soprano, oboe, bassoon and piano	JW	Purcell Room, London, 31 October 1973. Poems: P. Lagerqvist.
1974	*Hammarskjöld Portrait*, for soprano and string orchestra	BH	Royal Albert Hall, London, 30 July 1974. Text: D. Hammarskjöld (trans. M. Williamson).
1976	*Les Olympiques*, symphonic song cycle for mezzo-soprano and string orchestra	MB	Ruhr Festival, 19 June 1977. Poem: H. De Montherlant.
1981	*Tribute to a Hero* (*Josip Broz Tito*), a tribute in music for baritone voice and orchestra or piano	CP	Voice/Orchestra: Skopje, Yugoslavia, 9 March 1981; Voice/Piano: Assembly Hall Theatre, Tunbridge Wells, 22 March 1981. Poem: W. Whitman.
1985	*Next Year in Jerusalem*, symphonic song cycle for soprano and orchestra	CP	Royal Albert Hall, London, 20 August 1985. Poem: J. L. Borges.
1985	*White Dawns*, for love voice and piano	CP	Poems: K. Ratsin (trans. G. W. Reid).
1985	*Vocalise in G Major*, for mezzo-soprano and piano	CP	-
1986	*The Mower to the Glowworms*, song for low voice and piano	CP	Poem: A. Marvell.
1986	*The White Island* or *Place of the Blessed*, song for low voice and piano	CP	Poem: R. Herrick.
1986	*Day that I have Loved*, song for low voice and piano	CP	Poem: R. Brooke.
1986	*The Feast of Eurydice*, song cycle for female voice, flute, percussion and piano	CP	Poems: E. Feinstein.
1989-1995	*A Year of Birds*, symphonic song cycle for soprano and orchestra	CP	Royal Albert Hall, London, 19 August 1985. Poem: I. Murdoch.

Chamber

Year	Composition Title and Genre	Pub.	First Performance Place and Date (if known)
1947	*Minuet for Violin and Piano*	-	-
1947	*Study for Unaccompanied Horn*	-	-
1947-1948	String Quartet No. 1, "Winterset"	-	-
1949	*Nonet*, for strings, wind instruments and harp	-	-
1953	*Piece for Seven Wind Instruments and Piano*	-	-
1954	String Quartet No. 2	-	-
1957	Concerto for Soprano, Oboe, Cor Anglais, Cello and organ	-	-
1958	Trio for Clarinet, Cello and Piano	-	Aldeburgh Festival, 1958.
1964	Variations for Cello and Piano	JW	Mahatma Gandhi Hall, London, 21 November 1964.
1964-1965	Concerto for Wind Quintet and Two Pianos (8 Hands)	JW	Wigmore Hall, London, 9 April 1965.
1967	*Serenade*, for flute, piano, violin, viola and cello	JW	Queen Elizabeth Hall, London, 8 March 1967.
1967	*Pas de Quatre*, for flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon and piano	JW	Newport, 21 August 1967.
1967	*Pas de Deux* (Movement III of *Pas de Quatre*), for clarinet and piano	JW	-
1967-1968	Quintet, for piano and strings	JW	Birmingham Art Gallery, 23 March 1968.
1972	*Partita for Viola on Themes of Walton*	JW	BBC Television, 29 March 1972.
1975-1976	Piano Trio, for violin, cello and piano	JW	University of Wyoming, 22 June 1976.
1985	*Champion Family Album*, for flute, clarinet, guitar and percussion	CP	-
1990	*Chanukah Sketches*, for flute and guitar	CP	Pulborough Guitar Summer School, 28 August 1990.
1993	String Quartet No. 3	CP	-

Brass Ensemble and Military Band

Year	Composition Title and Genre	Pub.	First Performance Place and Date (if known)
1973	*Canberra Fanfare*, for brass and percussion	JW	Canberra Theatre, 1973.
1973	*Adelaide Fanfare*, for brass and organ	JW	Adelaide, 1973.
1973	*Music for a Quiet Day* (Movement IV of *Mass of a Medieval Saint*), for concert band	CP	-
1980	*Konstanz Fanfare*, for brass, percussion and organ	JW	Konstanz, Germany, 26 October 1980.
1980	*Richmond Fanfare*, for brass, percussion and organ	JW	Konstanz, Germany, 29 March 1981.
1981	*Fontainebleau Fanfare*, for brass, percussion and organ	JW	Konstanz, Germany, 29 March 1981.
1987	*Concertino for Charles*, for saxophone and band	CP	-
1988	*Fanfare of Homage*, for military band	CP	-
1988	*Ceremony for Oodgeroo*, for brass quintet	CP	-
1988	*Bratsvo – Brotherhood*, for military band	CP	-
1991	*Fanfares and Chorales*, for brass quintet	CP	Glaxo Pharmaceuticals Headquarters, UK, 27 June 1991.

Piano

Year	Composition Title and Genre	Pub.	First Performance Place and Date (if known)
1941	*Great Lady Waltz*	-	-
1947	*Two Part Invention for Piano*	-	-
1953	Variations for Piano	CP	-
1955-1956	Piano Sonata (Sonata No. 1)	BH	Aldeburgh Festival, 1956.
1957	Piano Sonata No. 2 (Formerly *Janua Coeli*)	JW	Cheltenham Festival, 1957.
1958	Piano Sonata No. 3	CP	Melba Hall, University of Melbourne, 8 March 1993.
1960-1961	*Travel Diaries: Impressions of Famous Cities for Pianoforte*	CP	Recorded by A. Gray, ABC Classics 472 902-2.
1963	Piano Sonata No. 4	-	-
1966	Five Preludes for Piano	JW	Cheltenham Festival, 11 July 1966.
1967	Sonata for Two Pianos	JW	Cheltenham Town Hall, 16 July 1967.
1974	*Haifa Watercolours*, for piano	CP	-
1975	*The Bridge that Van Gogh Painted and The French Camargue*, an album for the young pianist	CP	-
1976	*Ritual of Admiration*, for piano	CP	Purcell Room, London, 1976.
1984	*Himna Titu*, for piano	CP	Australian Embassy, Belgrade, 1984
1987	*Springtime on the River Moskva*, for piano four hands	CP	-

Organ

Year	Composition Title and Genre	Pub.	First Performance Place and Date (if known)
1955	*Epithalamium*, for organ	-	-
1956-1958	*Fons Amoris*, for organ	NC	Royal Festival Hall, London, 21 April 1956.
1959	*Résurgence du Feu* (*Pâques* 1959), for organ	BH	-
1959	*Variations on "Veni Creator,"* for organ	-	-
1960	Symphony for Organ	NC	Broadcast: BBC, 1961.
1961 (rev. 1978)	*Vision of Christ Phoenix*, for organ	BH	Coventry Cathedral, 27 May 1962.
1964	*Elegy – J.F.K.*, for organ	JW	Cathedral of St John the Divine, New York, 1964.

1966	*Epitaphs for Edith Sitwell*, for organ or string orchestra	JW	Version for organ: Aldeburgh, 17 June 1966.
1971	*Peace Pieces*, for organ	JW	National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, Washington D.C., 22 October 1971.
1971-1972	*Little Carols of the Saints*, for organ	JW	Westminster Abbey, London, 10 January 1973.
1973	*Mass of a Medieval Saint*, for organ	CP	St Thomas Church, New York, 23 September 1973.
1975	Untitled Wedding Piece for Organ	-	-
1975	Organ Fantasy on *This is my Father's World*, for organ	CP	-
1976	Organ Fantasy on *O Paradise*, for organ	CP	La Real Colegiata de Santillana del Mar, 13 March 1976.
1977	*The Lion of Suffolk*, for organ	JW	Westminster Abbey, London, 10 March 1977.
1980-1981	Offertoire from the *Mass of the People of God*, for organ	JW	-
1995	*A Song of Hope*, for organ	CP	Perth, Western Australia, November 1997.
1995	*My Dear Redeemer and my Lord*, for organ	CP	Perth, Western Australia, November 1997.

Other Solo Instrumental

Year	Composition Title and Genre	Pub.	First Performance Place and Date (if known)
1994	*Day that I have Loved*, for solo harp	-	-

Television / Radio

Year	Composition Title and Genre	Pub.	Other Details
1950	*The Golden Salamander*	-	Music for the BBC Serial.
1964	*Strange Excellency*	-	-
1965	*Choice*	-	Signature tune.
1966	*Gallery*	-	Signature tune.
1967	*Bald Twit Lion*	-	-
1968	*Chi Ming* (*Jackanory*)	-	-
1974-1975	*Churchill's People*	-	Music for the 26-part BBC Series.
1977	*The House of Windsor*	-	Music for the 6-part BBC Series.

Film Scores

Year	Composition Title and Genre	Pub.	Other Details
1947	*Inland with Sturt*	-	-
1948	*The Timber Getters*	-	-
1960	*Arid Lands*	-	-
1960	*The Brides of Dracula*	-	-
1963	*Thunder in Heaven*	-	-
1964	*North Sea Strike*	-	-
1964	*September Spring*	-	-
1965	*Rio Tinto Zinc*	-	-
1969	*Crescendo*	-	-
1969	*The Horror of Frankenstein*	-	-
1970	*Nothing but the Night*	-	-
1978	*Watership Down*	-	Title Music and Prologue.
1984	*The Masks of Death*	-	-

Light Music

Year	Composition Title and Genre	Pub.	Other Details
1958-1959	*No Bed for Bacon*, musical	-	-

1959	*Trilby*, musical	-	-
1960	Untitled Musical to *A Mid-Summer Night's Dream*	-	-

Sound Library Material

Year	Composition Title	Pub.	Other Details
1961	*Autumn Idyll*	-	-
1961	*Compline*	-	-
1961	*Marziale*	-	-
1961	*On the Spree*	-	-

Appendix C Relevant Publications by the Author of this Dissertation

Please see the following pages for copies of publications by the current author that are relevant to this thesis, including:

Philpott, Carolyn. "Book Review: Malcolm Williamson, A Mischievous Muse," review of *Malcolm Williamson: A Mischievous Muse*, by Anthony Meredith and Paul Harris. *Limelight: The ABC's Arts and Entertainment Magazine*, June 2008, 50.

Philpott, Carolyn. "The Master and the Media: Malcolm Williamson in the Press." In *Musical Islands: Exploring Connections between Music, Place and Research*, ed. Elizabeth Mackinlay, Brydie-Leigh Bartleet and Katelyn Barney, 157-188. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009.

Rusak, Helen and Carolyn Philpott. "Williamson, Malcolm (Benjamin Graham Christopher)." *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik* Vol. 17. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2007.

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